













**SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE:**  
**OR,**  
**THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY,**  
**THE EAST AND THE WEST.**

**RISE AND PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION—EARLY DISCOVERIES OF THE  
PORTUGUESE—VOYAGES OF VASCO DE GAMA, MENDES PINTO, AND  
MAGILLAN—EASTERN ENTERPRISES OF THE ENGLISH, AND  
FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE—THE FOUR  
VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS—CORTES AND THE  
CONQUEST OF MEXICO—PIZARRO  
AND THE DISCOVERY OF  
PERU.**



# SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE:

OR,

THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.

THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH.

VOL. I.

“————— Art thrives most  
Where commerce has enriched the busy coast;  
He catches all improvements in his flight,  
Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight,  
Imports what others have invented well,  
And stirs his arm to match them, or excel.  
'Tis thus reciprocating each with each,  
Alternately the nations learn and teach;  
While Providence enjoins to every soul  
A union with the vast terraqueous whole.”

COWPER.

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# SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION.

It was by slow degrees that man obtained the power to navigate the waters. The trunk of a tree, hollowed out for a more easy position of the body, forms the canoe which is usually found among the most uncivilized of our race. Improvements on this rough boat were probably suggested by observing the finny tribes. It accords thus far with the body of a fish: the fore part of the trunk, when sharpened off to an edge, is assimilated to the head of the fish, while its tail, which directs its motion, might suggest the rudder for the purpose of steering the canoe; and as the fins of a fish make a passage through the waters, so, when paddles were employed, the boat was essentially complete. Other vessels were afterwards built in ancient times of alder and poplar as light woods, but the preference was given to fir and oak. The Greeks used chesnut and cedar; elm was chiefly employed for the parts of a vessel under water, and cypress was valued for its not leaking.

One of our poets, addressing man, says—

“Learn of the little nautilus to sail,”

in accordance with an idea long entertained that the little marine creature thus denominated raised a sail, and by this means was wafted at pleasure on the bosom of the waters, and that an observation of its practice suggested to the human race a similar expedient for the same purpose. Under the popular impression, another poet thus describes its movements:—

“The native pilot of this little bark,  
Put out a tier of oars on either side,  
Spread to the wafting breeze a two fold sail,  
And mounted up and glided down the billow  
In happy freedom, pleased to feel the air,  
And wander in the luxury of light.”

But this has been recently proved, by a French lady residing in Sicily, to be all imagination. She has minutely examined and carefully described the nautilus, and it is now clear, to all who have duly weighed her statements, that the animal has neither sail nor oars.

Homer describes the process adopted in the infancy of navigation. Ulysses first cuts down with his axe twenty trees, and prepares the wood for his purpose by cutting it smooth and giving it the proper shape. He then bores the holes for nails and hooks, fits the planks

together, and fastens them with nails. He rounds the bottom of the ship like that of a broad transport vessel, and raises a bulwark, fitting it upon the numerous ribs of the ship. He afterwards covers the whole of the outside with planks, which are laid across the ribs, from the keel upwards to the bulwark. Next the mast is made, and the sail-yard attached to it; and, lastly, the rudder. When the ship is thus far completed, he raises the bulwark still higher by wicker-work, which goes all round the vessel, as a protection against the waves. For ballast, he throws into the ship wood, stones, and sand. Calypso then brings him materials, of which he makes a sail—

“ Which he also shaped,  
And to his sail due furniture annex’d  
Of cordage strong, fortresses, and ropes aloft;  
Then heaved her down with levers to the deep.”

At first, perhaps, a sail was made by the mariner suspending some of his garments on a pole. Thus it was fabled of Hercules that he sailed with the back of a lion, because his garment, which was a lion's skin, answered this purpose; and in some countries they used leather, or skins of animals, for sails. No more than one sail and one mast were employed in the earliest ages. As white was considered a fortunate colour, this was commonly given to the sails, but at other times they were of various hues. It is said that in ancient Egypt the sail was suspended on two upright poles, so that it could only be used before the wind, as is the practice of some of the islanders of the Southern Pacific, whose sails are made of mats. There is, indeed, a strong resemblance between the nautical movements of uncivilized people now and the arts of remote antiquity.

After the times of the Trojan war, navigation, and, with it, the art of ship-building, became greatly improved, on account of the establishment of the numerous colonies on foreign coasts, and the increased commercial intercourse with these colonies and other foreign countries. The practice of piracy, which was during this period carried on to a great extent, not only between Greeks and foreigners, but also among the Greeks themselves, must likewise have contributed to the improvement of ships and navigation. As a science it was still, at best, but at a low ebb. Navigation generally ceased altogether in winter. In instances where it would have been necessary to coast around a considerable extent of country, which was connected with the main land by a narrow neck, the ships were sometimes drawn across the neck, from one sea to the other, by machines. This was done most frequently across the Isthmus of Corinth.

Seldom, indeed, did the Greeks venture out into the open sea; and it was generally considered necessary to remain in sight of the coast, or of some island, which also served as guides in day-time; in the night the position, rising, and setting of the different stars answered the same purpose. Accordingly, Homer, having described Calypso's "latest gift, a gentle gale," and Ulysses as spreading joyously all his canvass to receive it, says:—

“ Beside the helm he sat, steering expert,  
Nor sleep fell ever on his eyes that watch'd  
Intent the Pleiades; tardy in decline

Bootes and the Bear, call'd else the Wain,  
Which, in his polar person circling, looks  
Direct towards Orion, and alone  
Of these sinks nearer to the briny deep.  
That star the lovely goddess bade him hold  
Continual on his left, through all his course."

When, however, the sky was overcast with clouds, the ancient mariners were thrown into extreme consternation, and durst not venture to any great distance from the coast, lest they should be carried forwards in an opposite course to that which they intended, or be driven against unknown shores and hidden rocks. In some instances there remained nothing but despair. "When," says the evangelist Luke, in relating Paul's voyage from Cesarea to Rome, "neither sun nor stars in many days appeared. and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away."\* Deprived of the sun by day, and the stars by night, the ancient navigators were tossed about the Mediterranean, not knowing in what direction they were borne by the winds and the waves.

There was, indeed, much cause for gloomy forebodings. As only a portion of the globe was known, and that portion was supposed to be on an extended plane, those who held a voyage from Crete to Egypt to be a signal proof of nautical courage, and who had never reached Sicily or Africa but by a wayward tempest or by shipwreck, and who were then objects of wonder at having escaped the perils of Scylla—the rocks on the coast of Italy and Sicily; Charybdis—the neighbouring whirlpool, and the Syrtes—sand-banks on the northern coast of Africa,—might justly have feared for themselves in being committed to unknown waters, and in tracking shores which the reports of others who had never seen them, no less than their own fears, had invested with horror.

In the course of time, however, it had been observed that, in addition to the motions of the sun and moon, certain stars towards the north never sank below the horizon, but seemed to move continually round a definite point. The constant revolution of the seven conspicuous stars forming the hinder part of the Great Bear were noticed by the Greeks; while a set of stars which kept on revolving in smaller circles than these were also observed. This was the constellation called the Little Bear: at the top of the tail of which a star is situated, which is now called the Pole Star. This is the nearest plainly-visible star to that point which is on a line with the pole of the earth, infinitely extended northward. When the use of these observations had become familiar by practice, the nautical art advanced considerably, and various schemes of enterprise were effected, with greater or less success.

The Phœnicians were especially celebrated for commerce, and, consequently, for navigation, long before the Greeks practised this art. Among them pre-eminence is due to the people of Tyre, who had a natural genius for traffic, and were also urged to seek a foreign commerce from the narrowness and poverty of the slip of ground they possessed along the coast, as well as from the convenience of two or

\* Acts xxvii. 20.



three good ports. Lebanon and the other neighbouring mountains furnished them with excellent wood for ship-building ; and they speedily became distinguished as navigators. Their pilots manned the ships of the nations, and conducted the vessels of Solomon over the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, as far as Tarshish, "the silver country." The people of Tyre and Sidon desired and endeavoured to preserve to themselves exclusively the trade and commerce of the world, possessing, as they did, the privilege of serving the Egyptians and other people, whose religion deterred them from pursuing maritime enterprise. The former dreaded the sea, which swallowed up their divinity the Nile, and, therefore, long ceased to cultivate the naval art. The Phœnicians were never allowed to enter the Nile ; but, with Tyre and Sidon as their two principal cities, they engrossed by far the greater part of the commerce of the world then known. They brought the gold and gums and spices of the East from India, Persia, and other countries, to Tyre and Sidon, by caravans or land-carriage, and distributed them, by means of their shipping on the Mediterranean, among the nations of the West. From an early period, however, they longed for some port which should give them command of the navigation of the Red Sea, and this object they attained by gaining possession of Rhinocurura, a city on the boundary between Palestine and Egypt. By this means they enlarged their commerce to a vast extent, making the Red Sea the medium of communication between the eastern countries and Tyre, instead of transporting their commodities by land.

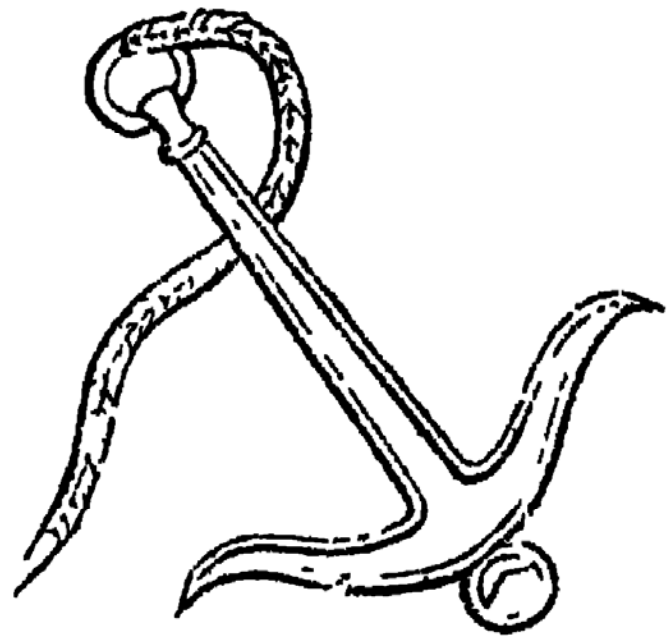
Masters of a numerous fleet, constantly entering on new navigations, they speedily arrived at so great an extent of population and wealth as to be able to send out new colonies. The principal of these was Carthage, which, ardently cherishing the spirit of commerce, not only equalled but greatly surpassed Tyre itself, in the course of time, sending its merchant fleets far and wide over the surface of the globe.

The Mediterranean Sea, which naturally seemed to the ancients to be situated, as its name implies, in the middle of the earth, was the scene of the earliest known navigation. As little experience was bequeathed by a passing generation to one that was advancing, many ages elapsed before the Mediterranean, Tyrrhene, Adriatic, and Egean Seas were explored. It is probable that with the Carthaginians originated the idea of quitting the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gades, now Gibraltar, of sailing southward, circumnavigating the coast of Africa, and then returning northward by the Red Sea, towards the Levant, or eastern side of the Mediterranean. This idea was cherished for ages as the crowning enterprise, but which only a solitary few, at long intervals of time, determined to try.

A daring navigator appears in the story of the Pamphilian, who was taken prisoner, carried to Egypt, and kept for a very long time as a slave at a town near one of the mouths of the Nile. Frequently employed to assist in maritime business, he formed the purpose of committing himself to the mercy of the waves in a sailing-boat, that he might once again behold his native country, and, providing himself according to his best ability, set sail, resolving to perish in the deep rather than to remain in bondage. His success was signal ; he

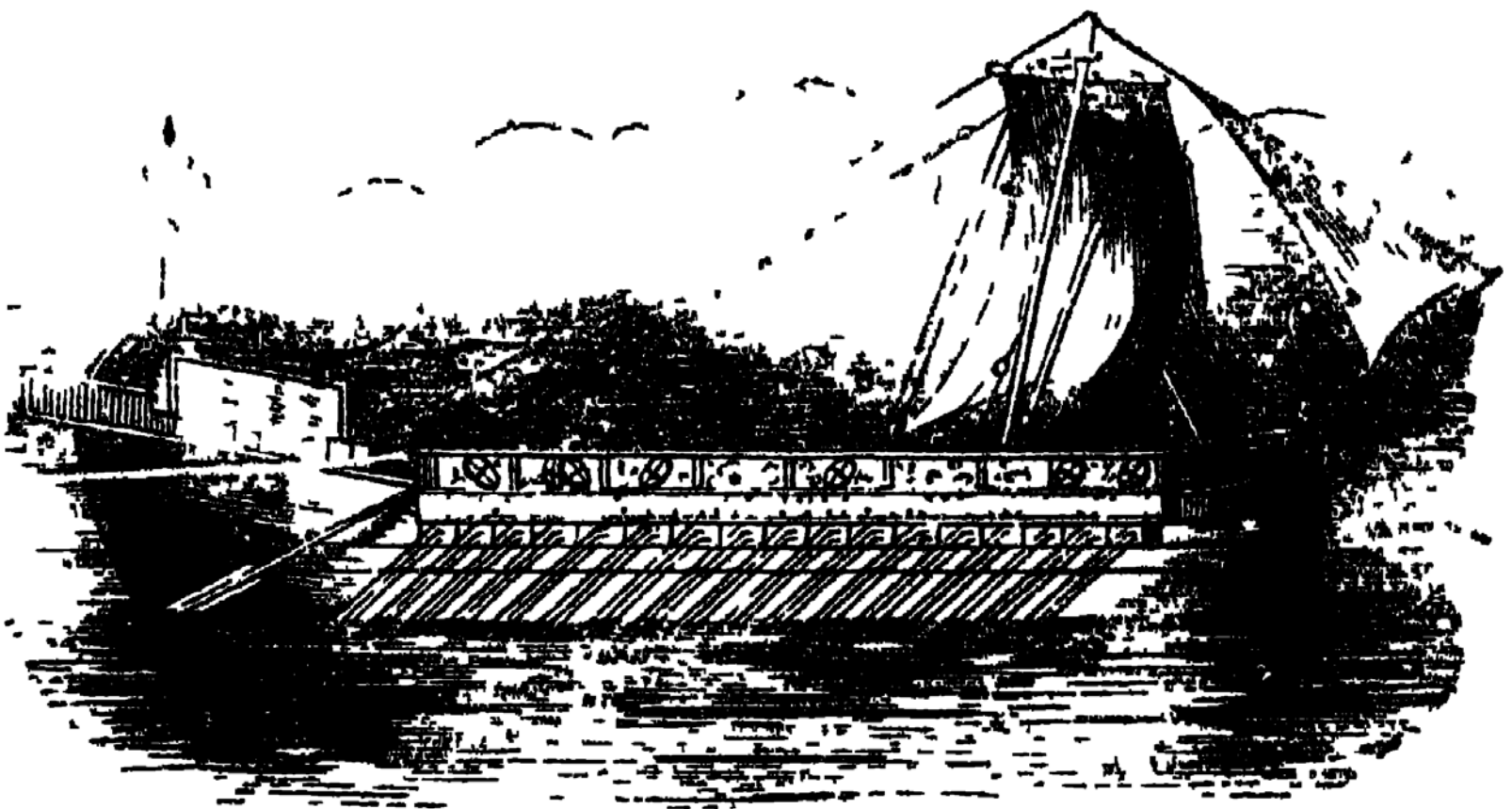
traversed the large expanse of waters which lies between Egypt and Asia Minor, and arrived safely at Pamphylia. The bold and unusual adventure led to his receiving the appellation of "the lone sailor."

In the age of Homer anchors were unknown, and large stones were used in their stead. According to Pliny, the anchor was invented by Eupalamus, and improved by Anacharsis. When anchors were afterwards used, they were generally made of iron, and resembled in shape those which are employed now. Each ship had several anchors; the one in which the Apostle Paul sailed had four,\* and others had eight. To show where the anchor lay, a bundle of cork floated over it on the surface of the waters. Of the several anchors belonging to each ship, one exceeded the rest in size and strength. This was called the *sacred* anchor, and was used only when danger was great, so that the phrase, "To throw out the sacred anchor," became a proverb applicable to those who were driven to the greatest extremity.



ANCIENT ANCHOR.

The object of the Romans in practising navigation was to subserve their conquests; but the extremities of the known world were ran-



THE ROMAN GALLEY.

sacked to gratify their luxury, and thus maritime enterprise was indirectly promoted. When their ships were unemployed in war, they made a survey of the dominions acquired by their arms. Thus Agricola, the governor of Britain, discovered it to be an island by

\* Acts, xxvii. 29.

sailing round it, towards the close of the first century of the Christian era. In like manner they explored the ocean in various directions.

The vessels employed by the Phoenicians and other nations about the same period, and intended for commercial purposes, were without keels, and bore a certain resemblance to the barges of the Hollanders at the present day. They were flat-floored, round, drawing little water, and very broad in proportion to their length, so that they might contain a larger quantity of commodities than they could under any other form.

The officers of an ancient vessel differ considerably from those required now. One was the master of the rowers, on whom it devolved to assign their places to the rowers, to encourage them in their labours, and to keep time to the motion of the oars, by the musical intonations of his voice, or by the strokes of his mallet. Another was the pilot, or master of the ship, whose place was at the stern, to whom belonged the duty of navigating the vessel, and which could only be discharged by varied knowledge as to the working parts of his ship, the winds, the heavenly bodies, the position of rocks and quicksands, and the site of commodious ports and harbours. When the ancients saw the winter signs begin to rise, they retired into harbour, and there continued till the constellations of spring invited them again to trust themselves to the waters.

About the sixth century the eastern portion of the Roman empire was assailed by the Saracens, who occupied a part of what is now called Arabia. Mathuvius, a Saracen chief, fitted out a powerful fleet, and conquered the isle of Cyprus, in the Mediterranean, which had formerly belonged to the eastern empire. Proceeding in their career of conquest, they reached the Euphrates, and built Bassora, on the west bank of the river, which soon became a great commercial city, and entirely cut off the independent part of Persia from the oriental trade. Enterprise succeeded enterprise, until the Arabians seem to have carried their exploratory endeavours in all directions and into all regions.

Still the vessels employed were of a very humble character. Ormus is described to us as a commercial city of the first importance, and the great emporium of this part of Asia. This distinction was maintained by keeping up the communication between Persia and India, and still more by being one of the great channels through which the commodities of India were conveyed to Europe; and yet the vessels employed in carrying on this extensive trade were very rude. They had only one mast, the planks were fastened with ropes and wooden pins instead of nails, and covered with a fibrous stuff like horsehair; the cargo was covered over with leather. The native vessels on the opposite coast of Arabia were constructed for many ages in a manner nearly similar.

Meanwhile the natives of Britain were but slenderly provided with the means of transit. A short time ago some workmen, engaged in making a drain on the farm of Knaven, on the estate of Nethermuir, in the county of Aberdeen, discovered a boat, evidently of great antiquity, quite entire, and still in high preservation. It was found at a depth of five feet from the surface, in a deposit of moss, at the



head of a small ravine. It is formed out of a solid oak tree, is eleven feet long and nearly four broad, having at the stern a projecting part, with an eye in it for the purpose of mooring. It is of a very rude manufacture, and the mark of the hatchet or instrument by which it was constructed is still visible.

It is clear, however, that the ancient Britons used to cross the English and Irish Channels in vessels of wicker-work covered with skins. They were found when the Romans invaded our island, and are still seen in use on the Severn and among the people of South Wales. The ships with which the Britons vainly strove to oppose the progress of Julius Cæsar were made with bottoms flatter than those of the Mediterranean vessels, to adapt them to a tide harbour and a shoal coast, and they were elevated both at the prow and the poop, which were deemed better adapted to resist a stormy sea. They were constructed wholly of oak; the anchors were secured by iron chains instead of the cables which had formerly been used; and the sails were made of skins and thin leather. The elevated poops gave them an advantage in furnishing a higher standing-place, from which missiles might be discharged at the Roman soldiers; but the Roman soldiers fitted sharp bill-hooks to the end of long poles, and catching hold of the ropes which fastened the sails of the British vessels to the mast, cut them asunder, and thus rendered the sails useless.



THE CORACLE, AS USED ON THE WYE.

The fall of Rome and its empire drew along with it not only the overthrow of learning and the polite arts, but that of navigation; the barbarians into whose hands it fell contenting themselves with the spoils of the industry of their predecessors. But no sooner were the braver amongst these natives well settled in their new provinces—some in Gaul, as the Franks; others, in Spain, as the Goths; and others in Italy, as the Lombards—than they began to learn the advantages of navigation and commerce, and the methods of conducting them, from the people they had subdued; and that with so much success, that in a little time they became able to instruct others, and soon foot new institutions.

It is doubtful which of the European people, after the settlement

of their new masters, first betook themselves to navigation and commerce. The Italians, however, are generally regarded as the restorers of navigation, as well as the polite arts, which had been banished together from the time the empire had been torn asunder. To the people of Venice and Genoa there is strong reason for ascribing the glory of this restoration; and to their advantageous position for navigation they are chiefly indebted for their glory. In the bottom of the Adriatic were a great number of marshy islands, only separated by narrow channels, and these well screened and almost inaccessible, the residence of some fishermen, who here supported themselves by a little trade in fish and salt which they found in some of these islands. Thither the Veneti, a people inhabiting that part of the peninsula which stretches along the coasts of the gulf, retired, when Alaric, King of the Goths, and afterwards Attila, King of the Huns, ravaged Italy.

These new islanders, not supposing that this was to be their fixed residence, did not determine to compose any body-politic; but each of the seventy-two islands of this little archipelago continued a long time under its separate master, and each formed a distinct commonwealth. On their commerce becoming considerable enough to excite the jealousy of their neighbours, they began to think of uniting in one body; and it was this union, first begun in the sixth century, but not completed till the eighth, that laid the foundation of the future grandeur of the state of Venice. Their fleets of merchantmen were now sent to all the ports of the Mediterranean; and at last to those of Egypt, particularly Cairo, a new city, built by the Saracen princes, on the eastern bank of the Nile, where they traded for the spices and other products of the Indies.

An extraordinary influence was conveyed to Europe from the eastern world during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So splendid were the objects now presented before the mind, that those with which it had been previously familiar appeared to have lost their highest charms. The Asiatic empire had early carried all the finer arts to a perfection elsewhere unknown; there was the great emporium of the richest and the most brilliant stuffs; the most exquisite aromatics, diamonds, pearls, and costly gems; all the objects which minister to the pomp and luxury of the great.

Maffio and Nicolo Polo, actuated by that adventurous spirit for which Venice was then distinguished, undertook, therefore, a voyage to Constantinople, then the key of eastern trade, and over which Venice claimed even some share of dominion. After disposing of their cargo, they resolved on a trading visit to the Tartars, who occupied the plains around the Volga. On their arrival they disposed of their jewels, and in consequence of the road they had traversed becoming unsafe they turned towards the east, and reached, at length, the great city of Bokhara.

Here they were prevailed on by a Tartar nobleman to accompany him to the residence of the Grand Khan, which they reached after a journey of twelve months. Their reception at this court, then considered the extremity of the East, was highly favourable; and the Khan resolved to send them back, accompanied by one of his own



officers, as ambassadors to the Pope. At the expiration of three years, occupied in crossing the continent of Asia, they arrived at Venice, in the year 1269.

Subsequently furnished with presents and credentials, they took their departure with Marco, the son of Maffio, now a youth of nineteen. Again they reached the court of the Khan, and were received in the most distinguished manner. They were employed in various important official situations; nor was it without difficulty that they were at length allowed to satisfy the longing they felt to return to their native country.

On the voyage homewards it appears, from the narrative of Marco Polo, that they touched at the kingdom of Ziamba (Tsiompa). Here they learned much of Great Iava, or Java, though they did not touch either at that island or at Borneo. Sailing southward, and passing the small island of Pentan (Bintang), they came to Java Minor, under which name Sumatra is designated. From Sumatra they sailed to Ceylon, noticing on their way the island Angaman (Andaman). After some stay at Ceylon they sailed to Maabarg, which, however, is not Malabar, but Coromandel. Passing Cape Comorin, they passed along the coasts of Malabar, where they noticed the abundance of pepper and ginger; then along that of Guzerat and Cambaia. They appear now to have sailed across the Indian Ocean and home by the Red Sea. On this voyage they collected information as to Madagascar, Zanzibar, and the eastern coast of Africa. In sailing up the Red Sea they heard of Aden, Abyssinia, and other towns and states situated upon that gulf. From Alexandria they set sail for Venice.

They arrived in their native town after an absence of twenty-four years, in the course of which time they had become so altered, their dress, appearance, and language so strange, that their warmest friends could no longer recognize them. A singular expedient was adopted to make known their return and the results of their journeys. The three travellers invited all their friends and connexions to a splendid entertainment, and, on the company being assembled, they entered, richly clad in robes of crimson satin, which, when the feast began, were changed for others of crimson damask, while the former were given to the attendants. On the removal of the first course they disposed of the damask robes in like manner, putting on dresses of crimson velvet; and, at the close of the feast, this splendid costume was changed for plain robes, like those worn by their guests. Great was the wonder that was felt; but at length, when the servants were withdrawn, Marco Polo brought forth the three coarse garments in which they had returned from their travels, and the seams and linings being ripped up, a quantity of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones appeared. The company were exceedingly struck by what they deemed a countless treasure, and warmly congratulated their hosts on their great wealth.

The impression made by the spectacle was deepened when Marco Polo described the kingdoms of Cathay and Cepango. It was soon spread among his contemporaries. He spoke of the immense wealth, population, and industry of China; the Tartar magnificence of Kublai Khan; the countless hordes submissive to his authority; the

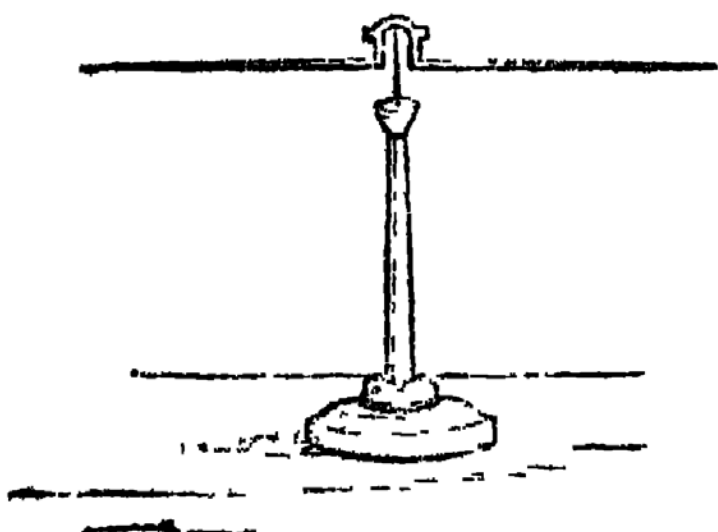
numerous islands of the Indian seas, rich in natural productions, hitherto but little known; and three other islands of the east beyond China.

The Venetians flourished and increased their commerce, their navigation, and their conquests, till the league of Cambray in 1508, when a number of jealous princes conspired to bring about their ruin—which was the more easily effected by the diminution of their East Indian commerce, of which the Portuguese had got one part, and the French another.

An extraordinary impulse was given to navigation by the invention of the mariners' compass :—

“ Then man no longer plied with timid oar  
And failing heart along the windward shore;  
Broad to the sky, he turned his fearless sail,  
Defied the adverse, woo'd the favouring gale;  
Bared to the storm his adamant breast,  
Or soft on ocean's lap lay down to rest,  
While free as clouds the liquid ether sweep  
His white-wing'd vessels coursed th' unbounded deep;  
From clime to clime the wanderer loved to roam,  
The waves his heritage, the world his home ”

The origin of this invaluable instrument is entirely unknown. It is ascribed by some writers to Flavio Gioja, who lived in the thirteenth century; yet Guyot de Provence, a troubadour or provençal poet, who lived a century earlier, speaks of the loadstone, which he calls the mariner's stone, as useful to navigation. Others ascribe its invention to France; but there seems to be no other reason for the supposition than the fact, that from time immemorial the north point of the compass-card has been distinguished and ornamented with a fleur de lis, or lily. The invention has also been attributed to England, the name, compass, given to the instrument in most European countries being used here to signify a circle. It has been, moreover, affirmed that Marco Polo brought the compass into Europe from China, about the year 1260. It appears highly probable that the Chinese were acquainted with it at an early period. Their method is to place it on a small piece of cork, and to set it to float on water. But the art of communicating the magnetic power to steel, and suspending the needle on a pivot, as represented in the diagram, is undoubtedly of European invention. Mariners, however, at first adopted the compass as a useful companion, and not as the sole guide.

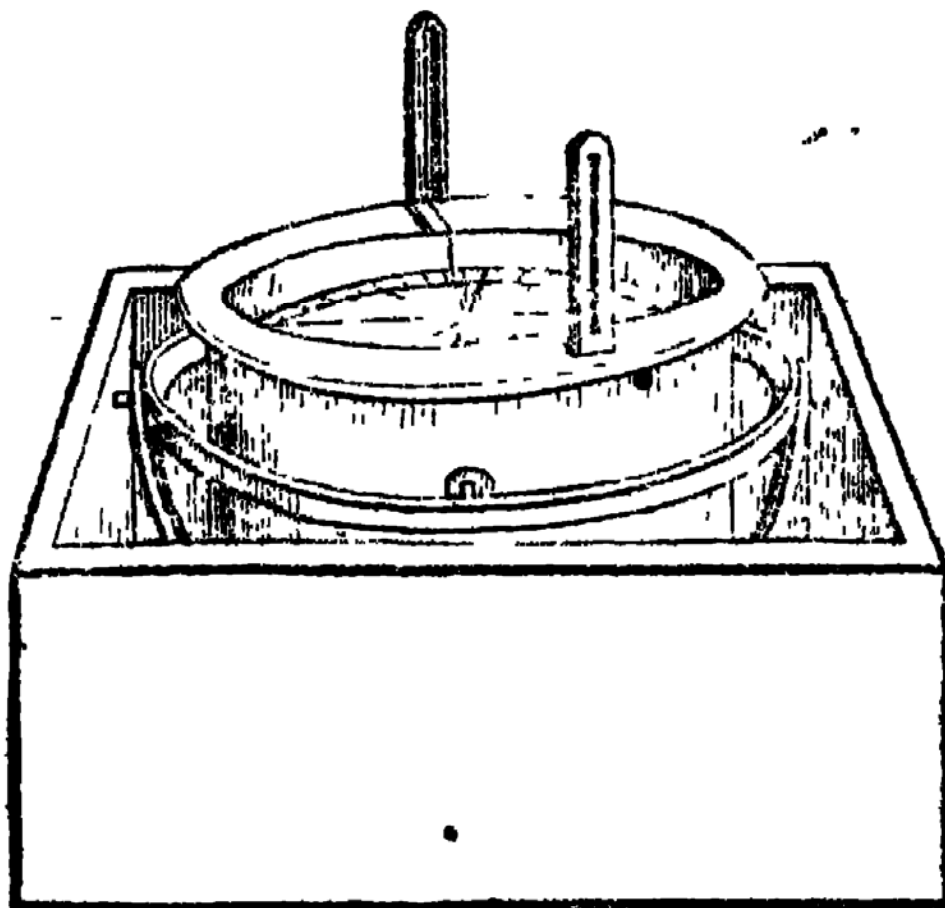


THE MAGNETIC NEEDLE.

The mariner's compass has a circular card attached to its needle, which turns with it, and in the circumference of which are marked the degrees, and also the thirty-two points, or rhumbs, likewise divided into half and quarter points. The pivot rises from the centre of the box called the compass-box, which contains the needle and its card, and which is covered with a glass top, to pre-

vent the needle being disturbed by the agitation of the air. The compass-box is suspended in a larger box, by means of two concentric brass circles, called gimbals; the outer ones being fixed by horizontal pivots, both to the inner circle which carries the compass-box, and also to the outer box, the two sets of axes being at right angles to each other. By means of this arrangement, the inner circle, with the compass-box, needle, and card, always retains a horizontal position, notwithstanding the rolling of the ship.

Captain Cleveland relates an amusing story of one of his foremast hands, Black George, "the veriest negro that can be imagined. For honesty, fidelity, and courage, he may have been equalled, but can never have been surpassed." With simplicity of character approximating to folly, he united a degree of self-conceit, which led him to believe that he could do whatever could be done by another, and in some cases to suppose he could make great improvements, an instance of which occurred before the vessel had been out a week.



THE COMPASS.

In his former voyages George had been cook, and had therefore nothing to do with the compass; but now having to take his regular turn at steering, he was greatly puzzled with the unsteadiness of the needle. He could steer in the night with tolerable accuracy, by giving him a star to steer by; but the compass appeared to him only a cause of embarrassment. To remedy this difficulty George tried a singular expedient. He took off the cover to the till of his chest, and having marked on it the points of the compass, and pierced a hole in the centre for the pivot, he brought it aft, and with great appearance of complacency and expectation of applause, placed it on the deck before the helmsman, with the proper point directed forward to correspond with the course, and then exclaimed, "Dair, massa, that compass be teady; George teer by him as well as anybody!"

Not long after the compass was employed for nautical purposes in Europe, human curiosity, which had been repressed by false philosophy and gross superstition, began to shake off the fetters by which it had been enthralled, and search for objects of rational pursuit. The spirit of enterprise and discovery kept pace with the means which the progress of knowledge gradually unfolded to aid and direct its exertions; and the facility of mutual communication which navigation began to open between remote countries was equally conducive to the benefit of individuals and the advantage of nations.



From this era we may date the commencement of that kind of intercourse between the inhabitants of different countries, which properly deserves the appellation of commerce.

Much aid was afforded to the mariner, in such enterprises, by the construction of maps, bringing all the geographical knowledge respecting the earth together; marking out its different parts, and noting the rocks, coasts, and quicksands to be avoided. Now also was invented and brought into use the astrolabe, a word formed from the Greek, and denoting to take the height of the stars. It consisted of two or more circles, having a common centre, and so inclined to each other as to enable the mariner to observe in the planes of different circles of the sphere at the same time. For example, if the circles were at right angles, the instrument would give both latitude and longitude, or the right ascension or declination of a star.

The astrolabe was the original of the quadrant, which is ascribed to two Jewish physicians, named Roderic and Joseph:—

“That sage device whose wondrous use proclaims  
The immortal honour of its authors’ names—  
The sun’s height measured.”

This instrument is curiously contrived and fitted up, according to the purpose for which it is intended; but it consists essentially of a limb or arch of a circle equal to the fourth of the circumference, and divided into ninety degrees, with subdivisions. The figure of a naval officer, using a quadrant, was once frequently to be seen at the door of a nautical instrument maker, as the sign of his profession; but, like many others, it has now become rare. The sextant is another instrument, the limb being the sixth part of a complete circle, for measuring the angular distances of objects by reflection. The sextant is capable of very general application; but it is chiefly used as a nautical instrument for measuring the altitudes of celestial objects, and their apparent angular distances.

An interesting anecdote is related by Captain Basil Hall, to show the necessity for midshipmen and officers being ready and expert at observing not only the sun, but the stars likewise, for their latitude, and these, too, in almost all weathers; for it often happens that the latitude and time on board ship cannot be obtained by a meridian altitude of the sun, in consequence of clouds; but it seldom happens that the sun and stars are all obscured long together:—

“We were running for the British Channel before a hard south-west gale, and it was of considerable importance that we should reach some port in England without delay, for we were not only charged with despatches, but were very short of provisions and water. The only chronometer I had on board happened not to be very good, and the sky had been so completely overcast for more than a week before that we could take no lunars. Thus I felt uncertain of my longitude to the extent of a degree at least; and all who have tried the experiment know what a nervous thing it is to run in for the land in the dark, and in stormy weather, when the ship’s place is not correctly known. But I felt exceedingly loath to lose so magnificent a wind, before which we spun along at the rate of ten knots, under a reefed foresail and close-reefed main-topsail. As long as day-light

lasted I felt very confident and bold about the matter; but as night closed in, the doubts and difficulties of the channel navigation crowded round my thoughts, and almost determined me to bring the ship to, and wait for the dawn. After poring for a long while over the chart, however, I satisfied myself that if, by any means, I could be sure of keeping in the latitude of  $50\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, within ten or a dozen miles on either side of that parallel, I should have clear ground to run over for three degrees of longitude at least, greatly within which I felt sure that the error of my chronometer must lie. But how was I to determine this point with any degree of certainty in such weather? The sky had not showed a patch of blue as large as my hand for several days, and though the sun had been seen through the clouds occasionally, we had not succeeded in catching a meridian observation.

"In this dilemma I bethought me of the pole-star, proverbially the mariner's friend; and having fixed my sextant by the cabin light at the angle about which I knew the latitude must give the altitude of the pole, I cast my boat-cloak over my shoulders and went on deck. There I stationed myself on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, with the instrument sheltered from the rain and spray under the cloak, and grasped in my right hand, while I kept my eye fixed on that part of the heavens in which I hoped, at some momentary opening, to detect the bright star of my night's fortunes. I had to wait more than an hour before there occurred anything like a chance; by which time my limbs had become cramped and stiffened by the constraint of one posture, while my eye ached and throbbed with its vain attempts to pierce the thick courses of clouds sweeping past.

"At last I did get sight of the star for three or four seconds, and, though it glimmered so faintly through the mist that it could hardly have been identified as Polaris, even by Sir James South himself, I knew by its altitude that it must be the object I was watching for. The horizon was but a shabby one, indistinctly seen in the dark, and hacked by the topping waves like the Sierra Morena. Nevertheless I succeeded in bringing the star in contact with the edge of the sea in the north, where, fortunately, there chanced at that moment to occur a faint gleam in the lower atmosphere. I ran below, read off the angle, computed the latitude, and found it not more than twenty miles from what I had expected, and quite enough to keep the ship safe for some hours' run. But as one insulated observation, made under such circumstances, could not be depended upon, I hastened on deck again, and presently—that is, in less than half an hour—caught a second glimpse of my friendly lighthouse in the sky. The result agreed with that of the first observation within ten miles, and of course gave me greater confidence.

"Still, as the night was dark, the horizon bad, and the observations both to the north, I could not rely upon them to the extent which was desirable—I may say indispensable—in running for the channel in such a night, and at such a rate. So I cast about to fish for a star on the southern side of the zenith, and was rejoiced to find that a brilliant planet, either Jupiter or Saturn, I forget which, came to the meridian before midnight. On deck I went again, sextant in hand, and although I possessed no very certain means of telling 'the time at

ship,' I watched for the planet, and caught it for a moment, not very far from the meridian, as I knew by the 'compass bearing.' With a flushed cheek, and hand trembling so that I could hardly hold the pencil, I worked out the latitude, and found it to differ from the mean of the two results by the pole star rather less than twenty miles. A second cast at the planet, after it had passed the meridian a few minutes, gave, when properly reduced, a latitude which differed only five or six miles from the first. Putting all these observations together, I felt quite certain that the ship's path lay within the limits marked along the chart as a safe track, and, having given orders to shake out a reef, pressed forward as fast as masts, yards, and hull would bear.

"The ever welcome dawn at length appeared, and not long afterwards I had the infinite satisfaction of discovering from the deck the well-known Lazard Point, with its two lighthouses, streaming with the night's rain, one above the other, and shining brightly in the morning sun."

With these remarks, which appeared desirable as a brief introduction, we proceed to detail the adventures of those who distinguished themselves in maritime discovery; to trace, in fact,

"The heaven-directed prow  
Of navigation bold, that fearless braves  
The burning line, or dares the wintry pole."

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

THE various tribes of Phenicia, though only the secondary conveyers of the merchandize of the East, rose thereby into temporary prosperity and renown. As that aggrandizing traffic vanished, their glory became as "the baseless fabric of a vision." It was chiefly to the resources accumulated from its monopoly of the Eastern trade that Tyre, single-handed and unaided, resisted so long and so successfully the mightiest assaults of Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror. He descried the fact with his eagle eye; and, having achieved the conquest of Egypt, he resolved to open through that country a direct communication with India, and to replace Tyre by a nobler emporium for eastern trade. To this the celebrated city of Alexandria owes its foundation. And when the conqueror reached the Indus, with its tributaries, and supposed, in the geographical ignorance that prevailed, that they were merely feeding-streams of the Nile, his biographer, Arrian, declares that the vast fleet commanded by Nearchus was equipped for the specific purpose of opening the direct intercourse between India and Alexandria.

So intent was Alexander on this favourite project, that when, after weeks of extreme anxiety, he was at length suddenly relieved from all fear as to the safety of his fleet, he burst into tears, and exclaimed: "By the Lybian Ammon and the Grecian Jove, I swear to thee that I am made happier by this intelligence than in being conqueror of Asia; for I should have considered the loss of my fleet, and the failure



of the enterprise it has undertaken, as almost outweighing, in my mind, all the glory I have acquired!" He did not live to witness the execution of his magnificent design; but, under his immediate successors, Alexandria soon became the channel of communication between Europe and Eastern Asia. Even when it ceased to exercise sovereign power, and became politically dependent on the so-called "Mistress of the World," it still maintained its proud position as the commercial capital of the empire; while in opulence, splendour, and population, it bade fair to rival, if not out-rival, the Eternal City itself.

After Rome sank into decrepitude, Arabia once more sprang into greatness. They carried with them into Spain their oriental customs and magnificence, whilst their mercantile operations extended from the Atlantic to China, and from the interior of Africa to the centre of Siberia. There, too, the Moorish princes, disregarding the austerities prescribed by the Koran, indulged in the highest degree of luxury. The productions of the East were, therefore, brought into Spain by the Arabs. The Spanish people caught the contagion of self-indulgence from their enemies, while to the same source they doubtless owed refinements which were not previously possessed.

After the great victory obtained over the combined forces of the Kings of Grenada and Morocco, near Tarifa, in 1340, an immense booty was found in the camp of the conquered. Not only were silks, cloth of gold, and precious stones divided by the victors, but so great was the quantity of gold and silver, both coined and in ingots, that the value of those metals is said to have fallen one-sixth, in consequence, throughout the kingdoms of France and Spain. The retention of the sumptuous habits of the East by the Moors is thus fully manifest. Nor were they alone in this respect. In the same period the Spaniard had acquired a taste for all that was rare in the oriental world. The streets of Seville were hung with silk and cloth of gold, and costly perfumes were burned in the houses, when they were passed through by Alphonso XI. in 1334.

There is reason to believe that the various commodities of eastern luxury were brought into Spain chiefly by the Moors, and that the supply of them was diminished as this people and the Spaniards became more hostile and embittered. The ultimate expulsion of the Moors from Spain was therefore one motive for seeking a new course by the ocean to India. But the Portuguese were the first to expel the Moors from their dominions, and even to pursue them to distant shores; and hence they are the first to claim our attention as entering vigorously on maritime discovery.

John I., of Portugal, married the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, by whom he had several sons, of whom Don Henry was the fifth. After serving with great bravery under his father at the capture of Ceuta, he was raised to the dukedom of Viseo, and was sent back with a large reinforcement to preserve the conquest to which his courage had largely contributed. During his continuance in command at Ceuta, he acquired much information from the Moors in reference to the seas and coasts of Western Africa, which raised and encouraged the project of maritime discoveries; and these became

afterwards the almost exclusive pursuit of his active mind. He also obtained intelligence respecting the Nomadic tribes which occupy the Great Desert.

Three years before the reduction of Ceuta, the Duke of Viseo had sent a vessel to explore the western coast of Africa, being the first voyage of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese, or by any other nation in modern times. The commander was directed to follow the western coast of Africa as far as the foot of Mount Atlas, which had hitherto been regarded as the *non plus ultra* of European navigation. The success which attended this voyage is not recorded; but Don Henry continued to despatch vessels to the same coast every year. Not daring to trust themselves beyond the sight of land, the mariners crept timorously along the coast, and at length reached Cape Bojador, one hundred and eighty miles beyond Cape Non, which is an extension of the foot of Mount Atlas. Cape Bojador stretches boldly out into the ocean, while the shoals by which it is surrounded, for the space of eighteen miles, and which are perpetually beaten by a heavy surge, filled the Portuguese mariners with amazement and terror; and they dared not stretch out into the open sea in quest of smoother water, lest, losing sight of land altogether, they might perish. It is thought by some that the Cape was regarded by them as a barrier, to warn them not to attempt to pass to the burning soil and scorching vapours which tradition declared to characterize the torrid zone. They accordingly measured back their weary steps to Portugal, where they narrated their proceedings to Don Henry, in which they doubtless did not make the least of the fearful dangers which they had encountered.

Retiring from Ceuta, where his presence was no longer necessary, and where his judgment had been matured by intercourse with various learned men whom his bounty had attracted to Africa, Don Henry took up his residence in the romantic town of Sagres, in the neighbourhood of Cape St. Vincent, where he devoted his leisure to the study of mathematics, astronomy, cosmography, and the theory of navigation, and even established an academy for the instruction of his countrymen in these sciences, which are essential to commercial prosperity, and in the encouragement of which he manifested no small discretion. To assist him in the prosecution of these studies, he invited a person named Diego, or James, from Majorca, who was very skilful in the management of the instruments then employed for making astronomical observations at sea, and in the construction of nautical charts. Some traces may still be found in ancient authors of discoveries along the western coast of Africa, particularly of the reported voyages of Menelaus, Hanno, Eudoxus, and others. From an attentive consideration of these, Don Henry and his scientific coadjutor were encouraged to hope for the accomplishment of important discoveries in that direction; and they were probably incited in these designs by the enmity which had long rankled among the so-called Christian inhabitants of Spain and Portugal against the Moors, who had formerly expelled their ancestors from the greatest part of the peninsula, and with whom they had waged war, in recovering the country from their possession, during several centuries.



After some time had been employed in the various scientific studies to which allusion has been made, Don Henry resolved to devote a considerable portion of the revenue which he enjoyed, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, in continuing and extending those projects of nautical discovery which had long occupied his attention. Accordingly, in the early part of the fifteenth century, a new expedition was prepared, for the purpose of attempting to surmount the perils of Cape Bojador. In this expedition two naval officers, Juan Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz Texeira, of the household of Don Henry, volunteered their services; and, embarking in a vessel called a *barcha*, which is a sort of brig with topsails, they steered for the dreaded cape. The Portuguese were hitherto ignorant of the prevailing winds on the coast of Africa, and the causes to which they were subject; while long sand-banks, which extend to a great distance seaward, and are very difficult to be distinguished in the morning and evening, and the prevailing currents, were important obstacles to the enterprise of the navigators. Though their voyage was short, they were environed by many dangers; and before they could reach the cape they encountered a heavy gale from the east, by which the Atlantic billows became too heavy to be resisted by their little vessel, and it was driven out to sea. On losing sight of their accustomed headlands, and being forced into the boundless ocean for the first time, the ship's company gave themselves up to despair; but on the abatement of the tempest they found themselves unexpectedly within view of an island, situated about three hundred miles from the African coast. The extreme joy with which the shores were descried can be readily imagined, and they gave to it the name of Puerto Santo, because it was discovered upon the feast of All Saints. This island is the smaller of the Madeiras, being only about two miles in breadth; and as the only roadstead is on the south-west side, the Portuguese probably anchored under the lee-side, to shelter themselves from the remainder of the storm from which they had thus happily escaped.

The island thus called the "Holy Haven" is almost directly west from Cape Cantin; whence it would appear that these navigators could hardly have passed much beyond Cape de Geer. It is obvious that they never approached Cape Bojador in this voyage, unless it is supposed that, after having been driven directly west from that cape, they shaped a northern course on the subsidence of the tempest, and fell in with Puerto Santo while on their return to Portugal.

Greatly pleased with the soil and climate of this island, and also with the gentle manners of the natives, Zarco and Vaz immediately returned to Portugal, where they reported the incidents of their voyage, and requested permission from Don Henry to return, for the purpose of establishing a settlement. An advanced and favourable station was secured towards the south by this discovery, whence others might be prosecuted along the coast of Africa with greater ease and safety, and from whence the dangers of the hitherto formidable cape Bojador might be avoided, by keeping a southerly or south-western course from Puerto Santo. On these considerations Don Henry acceded to their request; and, yielding to the adventurous spirit which had been ex-

sited by this accidental discovery, he permitted several persons to join in a newly-projected voyage, among whom was Bartholomew Perestrello, a nobleman of his household.

Three vessels were soon fitted out, and placed respectively under the command of Zarco, Vaz, and Perestrello, who had orders to colonize and cultivate the island recently discovered, and were provided with a considerable assortment of useful seeds and plants. After seeing these properly distributed, Perestrello returned to make a report to Don Henry, while Zarco and Vaz remained to superintend the colony.

Soon after the departure of Perestrello, the attention of the others was strongly excited by certain appearances, which, at length, they conjectured to be land. Accordingly they put to sea, and soon discovered a considerable island, entirely overgrown with wood, to which, on that account, they gave the name of Madeira. Returning to Portugal with the welcome intelligence, Don Henry determined to colonize and cultivate it—giving one division, named Funchal, to Zarco; and the other moiety, named Machico, to Vaz.

In the year 1420 Zarco began the plantation of Madeira, and being much impeded by the immense quantity of thick and tall trees with which it was then everywhere encumbered, he set the wood on fire. It is said to have continued burning for seven years, and so great was the devastation that great inconvenience was endured for a long time afterwards from the scarcity of timber. Henry now determined to introduce the vine and the sugar-cane into the new colony. Portugal would readily supply him with vines and people accustomed to their management; but he had to procure sugar-canes, and persons experienced in their culture and manufacture of sugar from their juice, from the island of Sicily, into which the sugar-cane had been brought by the Arabs. The experiment was made with astonishing success. The large quantity of valuable produce that was gained was in the infancy of the sugar trade, when that bland and wholesome condiment was an article of luxury, and not as it now is, common in the cottages of modern Europe. The sugars of Madeira were long celebrated, but after the ravages of an insect that infested the canes of this island, and the establishment of sugar plantations in other parts of the world, the attention of the people was directed to the grape, which still continues to supply Europe, America, and the East Indies with Madeira wine.

At the time Madeira was granted to Zarco and Vaz, Perestrello received as a gift the island of Puerto Santo, on condition of its being colonized and duly cultured. But so great was the multitude of rabbits, all said to have been produced from one doe transmitted from Portugal, that its cultivation was beset with peculiar difficulties.

About the year 1433 a native of Lagos, named Gilianez, whom the prince had entrusted with the command of a vessel, returned from an unsuccessful attempt to surmount the formidable obstacles which obstructed the passage round Cape Bojador. He had been driven by stress of weather into one of the Canary Islands, and had imprudently seized some of the inoffensive natives, whom he brought captive to Sagres. Don Henry was much offended by this conduct,

and Gilianez, to retrieve the prince's favour, declared that if entrusted with a new expedition he would rather perish than return unsuccessful in an enterprise which the prince had so much at heart. He succeeded in this Herculean labour as it was then esteemed, and returned with great exultation to Sagres, where he was again received into the favour and confidence of Don Henry.

In the following year Gilianez again sailed for the coast of Africa, and, the weather being favourable, was able to penetrate ninety miles to the south of Cape Bojador. He was accompanied on the voyage by Baldaya, cupbearer to the prince. On landing to take a view of the country, they found it to consist chiefly of an extended desert; and they were much disappointed in not being able to meet with any of its inhabitants, though they saw evident traces of them in the sand. To the bay, where they landed, they gave the name of the "Bay of Gurnets," from the great abundance of the fish resembling gurnets, which were taken by the seamen.

Again directed to prosecute their discoveries, and instructed to prolong their voyage, if possible, till they should meet with the inhabitants of the country, they adopted an expedient which had been suggested by Don Henry. Two horses were landed, and two youths, who had been educated in the prince's household, were directed to penetrate into the interior, to keep close together, and to bring back, if they could, some of the Moors, and, lest they should rashly expose themselves to danger, each one was allowed only a sword and spear, without any defensive armour. After wandering the greater part of the day they at length descried nineteen Africans, armed with assaguays or javelins, whom they ventured to attack, contrary to the orders they had received. The natives retreated into a cave where they were safe from further assault; and, as one of the youths had received a wound in his foot, they both thought it desirable to return. A stronger force was afterwards sent to the cave in which the Africans had taken shelter, but nothing was found, except some weapons left by the fugitives. The navigators now resumed their voyage; but as their provisions began to grow scarce, they were constrained, after ranging for some time up and down the rocky coast, to return to Portugal without making any important discovery.

A young officer, named Gonzales, afterwards made a voyage to a part of the coast which they had visited, and determined to use his utmost efforts to procure some of the inhabitants of the country. Accordingly, as night was coming on, he landed with nine associates, and having advanced about ten miles into the interior, discovered a native following a camel. The sudden appearance of the Portuguese rendered the astonished Moor perfectly motionless, and he was seized before he could recover from his surprise. On returning to the shore, they traced some recent footsteps on the sand, which led them to observe about forty natives, who withdrew to a neighbouring hill; but they secured a female who had strayed from the party.

On the arrival next morning of another ship, a second expedition went into the interior. Advancing again under the darkness of night, they soon perceived a party of natives whom they immediately



attacked; and, though the Moors were at first stupified with fear and surprise, a struggle ensued, in which three of the Moors were slain and ten made prisoners. After endeavouring in vain to establish an intercourse with the Moors for the redemption of the prisoners, Gonzales returned to Sagres, with them and a cargo of skins, and was rewarded by the prince. Nino Tristan, who commanded the vessel that had recently arrived, proceeded along the coast, and found some fishing-nets on the shore; but after repeated incursions into the country, being unable to meet with any of the natives, he returned to Portugal.

Three of the prisoners carried to Portugal by Gonzales were Moors of some rank and wealth, who promised to pay ransoms for their safe return to their native country, and to give, besides, six or seven slaves each to the captors. Don Henry was in hopes that the favourable report which the Moors might make on their return to Africa, would induce the natives to enter into trade with his navigators, and that from the slaves who were to be given in exchange some certain knowledge might be acquired of the regions of Africa, about which such strange reports were then prevalent.

Gonzales was therefore despatched on another voyage, accompanied by a German gentleman named Balthazar; and after being forced to return to port to repair the damages they had sustained in a dreadful tempest, they again sailed, and reached the coast where the Moors had been made prisoners. The principal Moor was landed, and was received with great deference by his countrymen, but in regaining his liberty he forgot his promises, and did not return to pay his ransom. It appears, however, that he had informed the natives of the return of the two other chiefs, as at the end of nine days above an hundred natives appeared on the coast, and entered into treaty for the ransom of their two countrymen who remained captives, and for whom ten negroes, natives of different parts of Africa, were given in exchange. The sight of a considerable quantity of gold-dust in the possession of the Moors excited the most lively emotions in the Portuguese, as being the first intimation that the precious metal was to be procured on the coast of their new discoveries.

On the return from this voyage, the sight of gold placed the fame of Don Henry beyond the reach of prejudice and detraction; and the former discontents and murmurings against his enterprise were changed into admiration and applause. Tristan was again sent out; he fell in with a cluster of seven islands, and returned with some of the natives of the country. Other voyages were now undertaken, and in one of them Juan Fernandez obtained leave to remain among the Assanhagi Arabs, from an ardent desire to procure information for the prince.

In the following year a vessel was sent out to search for Juan Fernandez, from whose inquisitive disposition much information was expected. Alfonso, one of the party, made prisoners of twenty-five of the natives. Fernandez, after experiencing many hardships, had succeeded in gaining the friendship of a considerable person among the Moors, and was accompanied to the shore by that man's slaves in a body. The natives exerted themselves to procure the release of

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some of their countrymen, who were prisoners with the Portuguese, to whom they gave nine negroes and a quantity of gold dust by way of ransom. The captives were greatly increased in number during the homeward voyage.

Fernandez described the natives of the coast as wandering shepherd-herds, of the same race as the Moors who had been brought to Portugal by Gonsales, in the former voyage. After being conveyed to a considerable distance inland, he was stripped of all his clothes, and even deprived of all the provisions he had taken on shore. The Moors gave him, as his only covering, a tattered, coarse rug. His food was chiefly a small farinaceous seed, varied sometimes by the roots which he could find in the desert, or the tender sprouts of wild plants. The natives, among whom he lived as a slave, unless when better supplied by means of the chase, fed on dried lizards, and on a species of locust or grasshopper. Their chief drink was milk, and water was bad or scarce. They killed some of the cattle only on great festivals; and, like the Tartars, roamed from place to place in quest of a precarious sustenance for their flocks and herds. The whole country presented only extensive wastes of uncultivated heath or barren sand; but a few Indian figs variegated here and there the dreary and inhospitable plain. A short time before he rejoined his countrymen, Fernandez acquired the protection and kindness of a distinguished Moor, who permitted him to watch for the arrival of ships, and even assigned him a guard for his protection.

Meanwhile, Denis Fernandez, a gentleman of Lisbon, fitted out a vessel under the patronage of Prince Henry,\* and, passing to the southwards of the Senegal river, reached, at length, the most westerly promontory of Africa, to which he gave the name of Cabo Verde, or the Green Cape. Other persons engaged in similar enterprise with various success; and, at length, the Azores, or Western Islands, which are situated in the Atlantic, 900 miles west from Portugal, and at an almost equal distance from Europe, Africa, and America, were added to the discoveries that had been made. The original prejudices against the possibility of navigating, or even existing, in the torrid zone, still operated; and though the navigators of Don Henry had gradually penetrated to within ten degrees of the equator, yet the last successive discovery was always held forth by the objectors as that which had been placed by nature as an insurmountable barrier to further progress in the Atlantic. The settlement of the Azores was, therefore, of considerable importance. In 1457 Don Henry procured the grant of many valuable privileges to this favourite colony, the chief of which was the exemption of the inhabitants from any duties on their commerce to the ports of Portugal, and even of Spain.

Cada Mosto, a Venetian, in the service of Don Henry, effected much as a navigator, of which he has given to the world an interesting narrative. He proceeded first to Puerto Santo, of which Perestrello had been appointed governor. He describes it as producing good bread-corn and a sufficiency of oats for the use of the people; and, while he mentions the rabbits as still numerous, he says Puerto Santo abounds with cattle and wild hogs. He also mentions its producing a tree bearing a yellow fruit, round like a cherry, and well-tasted—

the dragon tree,—from which the juice called dragon's blood is obtained, and very fine honey and wax, but not in any considerable quantity.

He afterwards visited Madeira, of which he furnishes the following details:—The island is inhabited in four several places. There are about eight rivers, by means of which they have many saw-mills, from which Portugal and other places are supplied with boards of many different sorts. Of these boards two kinds are most highly esteemed. One is the cedar, which has a strong odoriferous smell. Of this they make fine large and long boards, which they employ for building houses and various other purposes. The other, called nasso, is of a red-rose colour, and very beautiful, of which they make excellent bows and crossbows, which are sent to the West. Though this island is mountainous, its soil is rich and fertile, and it yields yearly large quantities of bread-corn. Cada Mosto also alludes to the successful cultivation of the sugar-cane and the vine.

He now visited the Canary Islands, and proceeded to the Senegal, which, five years before, was discovered by the caravels of Don Henry, whose commanders afterwards settled a peaceful trade with the Moors, so that ships were sent to this place every year to trade with the natives. He then sailed about eight hundred miles farther south along the coast, which was all low land, till he reached the territory or kingdom of Badamel, which was in the country of the Jabo, of whose people he obtained much information. From thence he went on a voyage round Cabo Verde, or Cape Verd, and paid a hasty visit to the country of Gambia. He afterwards made a second voyage in the same direction; but encountering the difficulty of intercourse he had previously experienced for want of knowing the language of the people, he returned to Portugal. These voyages took place towards the close of Don Henry's life. If the results of his enterprise be regarded as inconsiderable, it should be remembered that they appeared otherwise when even coasting voyages of any extent along well known shores and in frequented seas were regarded as great exploits. It is manifest that he overthrew the ignorant prejudices of the age, and laid a firm foundation of useful knowledge, which tended ultimately to complete the circumnavigation of Africa, and, probably, to the discovery of the new world.

John, the successor of Henry, continued to encourage his navigators to proceed to the southwards in discovering the African coast, and became anxious lest some unexpected rival might deprive him of the fruits of those enterprises in which he and his predecessors had been engaged for so many years. Learning that some Englishmen were preparing, at the instigation of the Duke of Medina, in 1481, to proceed on a voyage to Guinea, he sent an ambassador to Edward IV. to state that he held the title of lord of that country from the Pope, and to induce him to forbid his subjects from navigating to the coast of Africa,—in which negotiation he was completely successful. He also used every exertion to conceal the progress of his own navigators on the western coast of Africa, and to magnify the dangers of the voyage: representing that the coast was quite inhospitable, surmounted by tremendous rocks, and inhabited by savage cannibals.



From the time when Alonzo V. assumed the power of his government till the end of his reign, little progress was made in maritime affairs, and Cape Catherine only was added to the former discoveries. But under his son, John II., the designs of Prince Henry were prosecuted with renewed vigour. In 1481 the Portuguese built a fort on the gold coast, and the King of Portugal took the title of "Lord of Guinea."

A few years after Bartholomew Diaz reached the river, which he named Del Infante, on the eastern side of Africa; but deterred by the storms of that region from proceeding further, he had the satisfaction on his return of discovering the promontory, unknown for many ages, which bounds the north of Africa. Thus, from the storms he there encountered, he named the Cape of Tempests; but John, elated with the promise of India which this discovery, as he justly deemed, included, called it the Cape of Good Hope.

The arts of the Portuguese had now made a great impression on the minds of the Africans. The King of Congo, a dominion of great extent, sent the sons of some of his principal officers to be instructed; and ambassadors from the King of Benin requested teachers to be sent to his kingdom. Not long after, while the thoughts of John II. were intent on the discovery of India, his preparations were interrupted by his death. But his purposes were inherited, together with his crown, by his son, Emanuel.

The object of the Portuguese in venturing into these unknown seas, it may be remarked, was a spirit of discovery and a hope of gain through commerce. The picture presented to their view, and but slightly traced by real knowledge, was filled up by the unmaginative. The adventurers in several of the Portuguese enterprises were anxious to open an intercourse with a prince, or personage, of whom they had heard much, and who bore the mysterious title of Prester John. This singular name, it is said, was first introduced by travellers from Eastern Asia, where it had been applied to some one of the early Christian bishops, who held there a sort of sovereignty; and as soon as a rumour was heard of a so-called Christian King of Abyssinia, it was concluded at once that he was the real Prester John.

The geographical relations of the African continent not being then well understood, it was supposed that ambassadors from the western coasts might very soon reach his capital. It is difficult to tell what result was expected from meeting with Prester John; but the Portuguese appear to have thought that their nation would be raised to an extraordinary height of power and glory if they could but discover the abode of this potentate. For him, therefore, they never failed to inquire of all they met on the coasts; and as of them they could gain no information, they did not fail to promise large rewards if they should gain it by further research in the interior of their respective countries.

A correspondence between the King of Benin, which is situated on the west of Africa, a little north of the equator, and the King of Portugal, John II., led the latter to suppose that the real Prester John had been at last discovered. The negro ambassador of the King of Benin informed the King of Portugal that about 600 or 700

miles east of Benin there was a mighty king, called Ogané, who was held by the pagan serfs of that country in great veneration. They further stated that at the death of the King of Benin his successor had to send ambassadors with presents to Ogané, desiring to be confirmed in his kingdom as the lawful heir. Ogané sent him in return a staff and a brazen helmet, for a sceptre and a crown, and also a brass cross for the neck. If the king did not receive these ensigns of his dignity, he would not be regarded as king by the people. This Ogané was never seen, a silk curtain being always suspended before him; and when the ambassador was about to retire, a foot was protruded from the curtain, and to this foot homage was done. The ambassadors were then, on their departure, presented with small crosses.

As a specimen of the exploits of Prester John, it is said that when the Mogul army marched against the Christians of the Greater India, which was governed by Prester John, he caused a number of hollow copper figures to be made, resembling men, which were stuffed with combustibles and set upon horses, each having a man behind on the horse, with a pair of bellows to stir up the fire. At the first onset of the battle, these mounted figures were sent forward to the charge; the men who rode them set fire to the combustibles, and then blew strongly with the bellows. Immediately the Mogul men and horses were burnt with wild fire, and the air was darkened with smoke. Then the Indians fell on the Moguls, who were thrown into confusion by this new mode of warfare, and routed with great slaughter.

### CHAPTER III.

#### VOYAGES OF VASCO DE GAMA, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE PASSAGE TO INDIA BY THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the full torrent of popular clamour against such undertakings, Emmanuel was determined to prosecute the views of Prince Henry and John II. Three sloops of war and a store-ship, manned with only 160 men, were fitted out, for hostility was not the purpose of this humane expedition. Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of good family, who, in a war with the French, had given signal proof of his naval skill, was commissioned admiral and general, and his brother Paul, for whom he bore the sincerest affection, with his friend, Nicholas Coello, were, at his request, appointed to command under him. All the enthusiasm of desire to accomplish his end, joined with the greatest heroism, the quickest penetration, and coolest prudence, united to form the character of Gama. On his appointment to the command, he declared to the king that his mind had long aspired to this expedition. The king expressed great confidence in his prudence and honour, and gave him with his own hands the banner he was to carry. On this banner, which bore the cross of the military order of Christ, Gama, with great enthusiasm to merit the honours bestowed upon him, took the oath of fidelity.



About four miles from Lisbon there is a chapel on the sea-side. To this, the day before their departure, Gama conducted the companions of his expedition. The whole night was spent in the chapel in prayer for success. On the next day, when the adventurers marched to the ships, the shore of Belém presented a solemn and affecting scene. The beach was covered with the inhabitants of Lisbon, and a numerous procession of priests, in their robes, sung anthems and offered up invocations to heaven. Every one beheld the adventurers as brave, innocent men, going to a dreadful execution, as rushing upon certain death; and the vast multitude joined aloud in the prayers for success. The relations, friends, and acquaintance of the voyagers wept; all were affected; the sigh was general; Gama himself shed some unmanly tears on parting with his friends, but he hurried over the tender scene and hastened on board with all the alacrity of hope. Immediately he gave his sails to the wind; and so much affected were the many thousands who beheld his departure, that they remained immovable on the shore till the fleet, under full sail, vanished from their sight.

It was on the 8th of July, 1497, when Gama left the Tagus. The flag-ship was commanded by himself, the second by his brother, the third by Coello, and the store-ship by Gonzalo Nunio. Several interpreters, skilled in the Ethiopian, Arabic, and other oriental languages, went along with them. Ten malefactors, men of abilities, whose sentences of death were reversed on condition of their obedience to Gama in whatever embassies or dangers among the barbarians he might think proper to employ them, were also on board. The fleet, favoured by the weather, passed the Canary and Cape Verd Islands, but had now to encounter other fortune. Sometimes stopped by dead calms, but for the most part tossed by tempests, which increased their violence and horrors as they proceeded to the south. Thus driven far to sea they laboured through that wide ocean that surrounds St. Helena; in seas, says Faria, unknown to the Portuguese discoverers, none of whom had sailed so far west. From the 28th of July, the day they passed the Isle of St. James, they had seen no shore; and now, on November the 4th, they were happily relieved by the sight of land. The fleet anchored in a large bay,\* and Coello was sent in search of a river where they might take in wood and fresh water. Having found one convenient for their purpose, the fleet made toward it, and Gama, whose orders were to acquaint himself with the manners of the people wherever he touched, ordered a party of his men to bring him some of the natives by force or stratagem. One they caught as he was gathering honey on the side of a mountain, and brought him to the ship. He expressed the utmost indifference for the gold and fine clothes which they showed him, but was highly delighted with some glasses and little brass bells. These, with great joy, he accepted, and was set on shore; and soon after many of the blacks came for, and were gratified with, the like trifles, and for which, in return, they gave great plenty of their best provisions. None of Gama's interpreters, however, could understand a word of their language, or receive any information

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\* Now called St. Helena.

## VOYAGES OF VASCO DE GAMA.

of India, and the friendly intercourse between the fleet and the natives was soon interrupted by the imprudence of Veloso, a young Portuguese, which occasioned a scuffle, wherein Gama's life was endangered. Gama and some others were on shore taking the altitude of the sun, when, in consequence of Veloso's rashness, they were attacked by the blacks with great fury. Gama defended himself with an oar, and received a dart in his foot. Several others were likewise wounded, and they found their safety in retreat. The shot from the ships facilitated their escape, and Gama, esteeming it imprudent to waste his strength in attempts entirely foreign to the design of the voyage, weighed anchor, and steered in search of the extremity of Africa.

In this part of the voyage, says Osorius, the heroism of Gama was greatly displayed. The waves swelled like mountains in height, the ships seemed now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by gulphy whirlpools to the bed of the ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the pilot's voice could seldom be heard, and a dismal, almost continual, darkness, which at that tempestuous season involves these seas, added all its horrors. Sometimes the storm drove them southward; at other times they were obliged to stand on the tack, and yield to its fury, preserving what they had gained with the greatest difficulty.

"With such mad seas the daring Gama fought  
For many a day, and many a dreadful night;  
Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,  
By bold ambition led."

During any gloomy interval of the storm, the sailors, wearied out with fatigue and abandoned to despair, surrounded Gama, and implored him not to suffer himself and those committed to his care to perish by so dreadful a death. The impossibility that men so weakened should continue much longer, and the opinion that this ocean was torn by eternal tempests, and therefore had hitherto been and was impassable, were urged; but Gama's resolution to proceed was unalterable. A formidable conspiracy was then formed against his life; but his brother discovered it, and the courage and prudence of Gama defeated its design. He put the chief conspirators and all the pilots in irons, and he himself, his brother, Coello, and some others, stood night and day to the helm, and directed the course. At last, after having many days, with an unconquered mind, withstood the tempest and an enraged mutiny, the storm suddenly ceased, and they beheld the Cape of Good Hope.

On November the 20th all the fleet doubled that promontory, and, steering northward, coasted along a rich and beautiful shore, adorned with large forests and numberless herds of cattle. All was now alacrity; the hope that they had surmounted every danger revived their spirits, and the admiral was beloved and admired. Here, and at the bay, which they named St. Blas, they took in provisions, and beheld those beautiful rural scenes described by Camoens; and here the store-sloop, now of no farther service, was burnt by order of the admiral. On December the 8th a violent storm drove the fleet from the sight of land, and carried them to the very powerful current

running between Cape Corrientes and the south-west extremity of Madagascar, which made the Moors deem it impossible to double the Cape. Gama, however, though unhappy in the time of navigating these seas, was safely carried over the current by the force of a tempest; and having recovered the sight of land, as his safest course, he steered northward along the coast. On the 10th of January they descried, about 230 miles from their last watering-place, some beautiful islands, with herds of cattle frisking in the meadows. It was a profound calm, and Gama stood near an island. The natives of this place, which he named Terra de Natal, were better dressed and more civilized than those they had hitherto seen. An exchange of presents was made, and the black king was so pleased with the politeness of Gama that he came on board his ship to see him. On the 15th of January, in the dusk of the evening, they came to the mouth of a large river, whose banks were shaded with trees, loaded with fruit. On the return of day they saw several little boats with palm-tree leaves making towards them, and the natives came on board without hesitation or fear. Gama received them kindly, gave them an entertainment, and some silken garments, which they received with visible joy. Only one of them, however, could speak a little broken Arabic. From him Fernan Marinho learned, that not far distant was a country where ships, in shape and size like Gama's, frequently resorted. Hitherto Gama had found only the rudest barbarians on the coasts of Africa, alike ignorant of India and of the naval art. The information he here received, that he was drawing near to civilized countries, gave the adventurers great spirits, and the admiral named this place the River of Good Signs.

Here, while Gama careened and refitted his ships, his crews were attacked with a violent scurvy, which carried off several of his men. Having taken in fresh provisions, on the 24th of February he set sail, and on the 1st of March they descried four islands on the coast of Mozambique. From one of these they perceived seven vessels in full sail bearing down towards them. These knew Gama's ship by the admiral's ensign, and made up to her, saluting her with loud huzzas and their instruments of music. Gama received them on board, and entertained them with great kindness. The interpreters talked with them in Arabic. The island, in which was the principal harbour and trading town, they said was governed by a deputy of the King of Quiloa; and many Saracen merchants, they added, were settled here, who traded with Arabia, India, and other parts of the world. Gama was overjoyed, and the crew, with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven.

Pleased with the presents which Gama sent him, and imagining the Portuguese were Mohammedans from Morocco, Lacocia, the governor, dressed in rich embroidery, came to congratulate the admiral on his arrival in the East. As he approached the ships in great pomp, Gama removed the sick out of sight, and ordered all those in health to attend above deck, armed in the Portuguese manner; for he foresaw what would happen when the Mohammedans should discover their mistake. During the entertainment provided for them, Lacocia seemed highly pleased, and asked several questions about



the arms and religion of the strangers. Gama showed them his arms and explained the force of his cannon, but did not affect to know much about religion; however, he frankly promised to show them his books of devotion whenever a few days' refreshment should give him a more convenient time. In the meantime he entreated Lacocia to send him some pilots, who might conduct him to India. Two pilots were next day brought by the governor, a treaty of peace was solemnly concluded, and every office of mutual friendship seemed to promise a lasting harmony. But it was soon interrupted. Lacocia, as soon as he found the Portuguese were not Mohammedans, used every endeavour to destroy them. The life of Gama was attempted. One of the Moorish pilots deserted, and some of the Portuguese, who were on shore to get fresh water, were attacked by seven barks of the natives, but were rescued by a timely assistance from the ships.

Besides the hatred of the Christian name borne by the Portuguese, these Mohammedan Arabs had other reasons to wish the destruction of Gama. Before this period they were almost the only merchants of the East. Though without any empire in a mother country, they were bound together by language and religion, and, like the modern Jews, were united, though scattered over various countries. Though they esteemed the current off Cape Corrientes, and the tempestuous seas round the Cape of Good Hope, as impassable, they were the sole masters of the Ethiopian, Arabian, and Indian seas; and had colonies in every place convenient for trade on these coasts. This crafty mercantile people clearly foresaw the consequences of the arrival of Europeans, and every art was soon exerted to prevent such

formidable rivals from effecting any settlement in the East. To these Mohammedan traders the Portuguese, on account of their religion, gave the name of Moors.

Immediately after the skirmish at the watering-place, Gama, having one Moorish pilot, set sail, but was soon driven back to the same island by tempestuous weather. He now resolved to take in fresh water by force. The Moors perceived his intention,—about two thousand of whom, rising from ambush, attacked the Portuguese detachment. But the prudence of Gama had not been asleep. His ships were stationed with art, and his artillery not only dispersed the hostile Moors, but reduced their town, which was built of wood, to a heap of ashes. Among some prisoners taken by Paulus de Gama was a pilot, and Lacocia, begging forgiveness for his treachery, sent another, whose skill in navigation he greatly commended.



MOORISH PIRATE.

The engraving exhibits a Moorish pirate of our own time, doubtless strongly resembling his ancestors.

A war with the Moors was now begun. Gama perceived that their jealousy of European rivals gave them nothing to expect but secret treachery and open hostility; and he knew what numerous colonies they had on every trading coast of the East. He determined to impress them, therefore, with the terror of his arms in their first act of treachery. Nor was he remiss in his attention to the chief pilot who had been last sent. He perceived in him a kind of anxious endeavour to bear him near some little islands, and suspecting there were unseen rocks in that course, he confidently charged the pilot with guilt, and ordered him to be severely whipped. The punishment produced a confession and promises of fidelity. He now advised Gama to stand for Quiloa, which he assured him was inhabited by Christians. Three Ethiopian Christians had come on board while at Laccocia's Island, and the current opinions of Prester John's country inclined Gama to try if he could find a port where he might expect the assistance of a people of his own religion. A violent storm, however, drove the fleet from Quiloa, and being now near Mombaza the pilot advised him to enter that harbour, where, he said, there were also many Christians.

The city of Mombaza is agreeably situated on an island formed by a river which empties itself into the sea by two mouths. The buildings are lofty and of firm stone, and the country abounds with fruit trees and cattle. Gama, happy to find a harbour where everything wore the appearance of civilization, ordered the ships to cast anchor, which was scarcely done when a galley, in which were one hundred men in Turkish habit, armed with bucklers and sabres, rowed up to the flag-ship. All of these appeared desirous to board, but only four, who by their dress seemed officers, were admitted; nor were these allowed till stript of their arms. As soon as on board they extolled the prudence of Gama in refusing admittance to armed strangers, and by their behaviour seemed desirous to gain the good opinion of the adventurers. Their country, they boasted, contained all the riches of India, and their king, they professed, was desirous of entering into a friendly treaty with the Portuguese, with whose renown he was well acquainted. And that a conference with his majesty and the offices of friendship might be rendered more convenient, Gama was requested and advised to enter the harbour. As no place could be more commodious for the recovery of the sick, and the whole fleet was sickly, Gama resolved to enter the port; and, in the meantime, sent two of the pardoned criminals as an embassy to the king. These the king treated with the greatest kindness, ordered his officers to show them the strength and opulence of his city, and, on their return, he sent a present to Gama of the most valuable spices, of which he boasted such abundance that the Portuguese, he said, if they regarded their own interest, would seek for no other India.

To make treaties of commerce was the business of Gama; one so advantageous, and so desired by the natives, was not therefore to be refused. Fully satisfied by the report of his spies he ordered them to

weigh anchor, and enter the harbour. His own ship led the way, when a sudden violence of the tide made Gama apprehensive of running aground. He therefore directed his sails to be furled and the anchors to be dropped, and gave a signal for the others to follow his example. This manœuvre, and the cries of the sailors in executing it, alarmed the Mozambique pilots. Conscious of their treachery, they thought their design was discovered, and leaped into the sea. Some boats of Mombaza took them up, and, refusing to put them on board, set them safely on shore, though the admiral repeatedly demanded the restoration of the pilots. These circumstances—evident proofs of treachery—were further confirmed by the behaviour of the King of Mombaza. In the middle of the night Gama thought he heard some noise, and, on examination, found his ships surrounded by a great number of Moors, who, in the utmost privacy, endeavoured to cut his cables. But their scheme was defeated; and some Arabs, who remained on board, confessed that no Christians were resident either at Quiloa or Mombaza. The storm which drove them from the one place, and their late escape at the other, were now beheld as manifestations of the divine favour; and Gama, holding up his hands to heaven, ascribed his safety to the care of Providence. It afterwards appeared that the Moorish King of Mombaza had been informed of what had happened at Mozambique, and intended to revenge it by the total destruction of the fleet. Two days, however, elapsed before they could get clear of the rocky bay of Mombaza, and having now ventured to hoist their sails, they steered for Melinda, a port, they had been told, where many merchants from India resorted. In their way thither they took a Moorish vessel, out of which Gama selected fourteen prisoners, one of whom he perceived by his mien to be a person of distinction. By this Saracen Gama was informed that he was near Melinda, that the king was hospitable, and celebrated for his faith, and that four ships from India, commanded by Christian masters, were in that harbour. The Saracen also offered to go as Gama's messenger to the king, and promised to procure him an able pilot to conduct him to Calicut, the chief port of India.

As the coast of Melinda appeared to be dangerous, Gama anchored at some distance from the city, and, unwilling to hazard any of his men, he landed the Saracen on an island opposite the town. This was observed, and the stranger was brought before the king, to whom he gave so favourable an account of the politeness and humanity of Gama, that a present of several sheep and fruit of all sorts was sent by his majesty to the admiral, who had the happiness to find the truth of what the prisoner had told him confirmed by the masters of the four ships from India. They were Christians from Camboya. They were transported with joy on the arrival of the Portuguese, and gave several useful instructions to the admiral.

The city of Melinda was situated in a fertile plain, surrounded with gardens and groves of orange trees, whose flowers diffused a most grateful odour. The pastures were covered with herds, and the houses, built of square stones, were both elegant and magnificent. Desirous to make an alliance with such a state, Gama requited the civility of the king with the most grateful acknowledgments. He



drew nearer to the shore, and urged his instructions as an apology for not landing to wait upon his majesty in person. The apology was accepted; and the king, whose age and infirmities prevented his going, sent his son to congratulate Gama, and enter into a treaty of friendship. The prince, who had for sometime governed under the direction of his father, came in great pomp. His dress was royally magnificent; the nobles who attended him displayed all the riches of silk and embroidery; and the music of Melinda sounded all over the bay. Gama, to express his regard, met him in the admiral's barge. The prince, as soon as he came up, leaped into it, and distinguishing the admiral by his habit, embraced him with all the intimacy of old friendship. In their conversation, which was long and sprightly, he discovered nothing of the barbarian, says Osorius, but in everything showed an intelligence and politeness worthy of his high rank. He accepted the fourteen Moors, whom Gama gave to him, with great pleasure. He seemed to view Gama with enthusiasm, and confessed that the make of the Portuguese ships, so much superior to what he had seen, convinced him of the greatness of that people. He gave Gama an able pilot, named Melemo Cana, to conduct him to Calicut; and requested, that on his return to Europe, he would carry an ambassador with him to the court of Lisbon. During the few days the fleet stayed at Melinda, the mutual friendship increased, and a treaty of alliance was concluded. And now, on April 22, resigning the helm to his skilful and honest pilot, Gama hoisted sail and steered to the North. In a few days they passed the line, and the Portuguese with ecstasy beheld the appearance of their native sky. Orion, Ursa Major and Minor, and the other stars about the northern pole, were now a more joyful discovery than the south pole had formerly been to them. Having passed the meridian, the pilot now stood directly to the East, through the Indian ocean; and after sailing about three weeks, he had the happiness to congratulate Gama on the view of the mountains of India. Gama, transported with ecstasy, ordered all his prisoners to be set at liberty, that every heart might taste of the joy of his successful voyage.

About two leagues from Calicut, Gama ordered the ships to anchor, and was soon surrounded by a number of boats. By one of these he sent one of the pardoned criminals to the city. The appearance of unknown vessels on their coast brought immense crowds around the stranger, who no sooner entered Calicut than he was lifted from his feet and carried hither and thither by the concourse. Though the populace and the stranger were alike earnest to be understood, their language was unintelligible to each other, till, happily for Gama in the event, a Moorish merchant accosted his messenger in the Spanish tongue. The next day this Moor, who was named Mouzaida, waited upon Gama on board his ship. He was a native of Tunis, and the chief person, he said, with whom John II. had at that port contracted for military stores. He was a man of abilities and great knowledge of the world, and an admirer of the Portuguese valour and honour. The engaging behaviour of Gama heightened his esteem into the sincerest attachment. He offered to be interpreter for the admiral, and to serve him besides in whatever he could possibly befriend him. And

thus, by one of those unforeseen circumstances which often decide the greatest events, Gama received a friend, who soon rendered the most important and critical service.

At the first interview Monzaida gave Gama the fullest information of the climate, extent, customs, religions, and various riches of India, the commerce of the Moors, and the character of the sovereign. Calicut was not only the imperial city, but the greatest port. The king or Zamorin, who resided here, was acknowledged as emperor by the neighbouring princes; and as his revenue consisted chiefly of dues on merchandize, he had always encouraged the resort of foreigners to his harbours.

Pleased with this promising prospect, Gama sent two of his officers with Monzaida to wait on the Zamorin at his palace of Pandarene, a few miles from the city. They were admitted to the royal apartment, and delivered their embassy; to which the Zamorin replied, that the arrival of the admiral of so great a prince as Emmanuel gave him inexpressible pleasure, and that he would willingly embrace the offered alliance. In the meanwhile, as their present station was extremely dangerous, he advised them to bring the ships nearer to Pandarene, and for the purpose he sent a pilot to the fleet.

A few days after, the Zamorin sent his first minister, attended by several of the Nuyres, or nobility, to conduct Gama to the royal palace. As an interview with the Zamorin was absolutely necessary to complete the purpose of his voyage, Gama immediately agreed to it, though the treachery he had already experienced, since his arrival in the eastern seas, showed him the personal danger which he thus hazarded. He gave the command of the ships during his absence to his brother Paulus and his friend Coclo; and in the orders he left them he displayed an amount of courage amounting almost to heroism.

The revenue of the Zamorin arose chiefly from the traffic of the Moors; the various colonies of these people were combined in one interest, and the jealousy and consternation which his arrival in the eastern seas had spread among them were circumstances well known to Gama, and he knew what he had to expect both from their force and their fraud. But duty and honour required him to complete the purpose of his voyage. He left peremptory command that if he was detained prisoner, or any attempt were made upon his life, they should take no step to save him—to give ear to no message which might come in his name for such purpose, and to enter into no negotiation on his behalf. Though they were to keep some boats near the shore, to favour his escape if he perceived treason, or were detained by force, yet the moment that force rendered his escape impracticable, they were to set sail, and to carry the tidings of the discovery of India to the King of Portugal; for as this was his only concern, he would suffer no risk that might lose a man, or endanger the homeward voyage. Having left these unalterable orders, he went ashore with the Zamorin's minister, the catwal, attended only by twelve of his own men, for he would not weaken the naval force, though he knew the pomp of attendance would have been greatly in his favour at the court of India.



As soon as he landed, he and the Catwal were carried in great pomp, in sofas, upon men's shoulders to the chief temple, and from thence, amid immense crowds, to the royal palace. The apartment and dress of the Zamorin were such as might be expected from the luxury and wealth of India. The emperor lay reclined on a magnificent couch, surrounded with his nobility and ministers of state. Gama was introduced to him by a venerable old man, the chief brahmin. His majesty, by a gentle nod, appointed the admiral to sit upon one of the steps of his sofa, and then demanded his embassy. It was against the custom of his country, Gama replied, to deliver his instructions in a public assembly; he therefore desired that the king and a few of his ministers would grant them a private audience. This was complied with, and Gama, in a manly speech, set forth the greatness of his sovereign Emmanuel, the fame he had heard of the Zamorin, and the desire he had to enter into alliance with so great a prince; nor were the mutual advantages of such a treaty omitted by the admiral. The Zamorin, in reply, professed great esteem for the friendship of the King of Portugal, and declared his readiness to enter into a friendly alliance. He then ordered the Catwal to provide proper apartments for Gama in his house; and, having promised another conference, dismissed the admiral with all the appearance of sincerity.

Avarice was the ruling passion of this monarch; he was haughty or mean, bold or timorous, as his interest rose or fell in the balance of his judgment, wavering and irresolute whenever the scales seemed doubtful which to preponderate. He was pleased with the prospect of bringing the commerce of Europe to his harbours, but he was also influenced by the threats of the Moors. Three days elapsed ere Gama was again permitted to see the Zamorin. At the second audience he presented the letter and presents of Emmanuel. The letter was received with politeness, but the presents were viewed with an eye of contempt. Gama beheld it, and said he only came to discover the route of India, and therefore was not charged with valuable gifts ere the friendship of the state where they might choose to traffic was known; yet that, indeed, he brought the most valuable of all gifts, the offer of the friendship of his sovereign and the commerce of his country. He then entreated the king not to reveal the contents of Emmanuel's letter to the Moors; and the king, with great seeming friendship, desired Gama to guard against the perfidy of that people. And at this time it is highly probable the Zamorin was sincere.

Every hour since the arrival of Gama the Moors had held secret conferences. That one of the Portuguese might not return was their purpose, and every method to accomplish this was meditated. To influence the king against the Portuguese, to assassinate Gama, to raise a general insurrection, to destroy the foreign navy, and to bribe the catwal, were determined. And the catwal, in whose house Gama was lodged, accepted the bribe and entered into their interest. Gama, however, was apprised of all these circumstances by his faithful interpreter, Monzaida, whose affection to the foreign admiral the Moors hitherto had not suspected. Thus informed, and having obtained the faith of an alliance from the sovereign of the first port of India, Gama

resolved to elude the plots of the Moors; and accordingly, before the dawn, he set out for the sea-shore, in hope to escape by some of the boats which he had ordered to hover about the coast. But the Moors were vigilant. His absence was immediately known, and the catwal, by the king's order, pursued and brought him back by force. The catwal, however—for it was necessary for their schemes to have the ships in their power—behaved with great politeness to the admiral, though now detained as a prisoner, and still continued his specious promises to use all his interest in his behalf.

The eagerness of the Moors now contributed to the safety of Gama. Their principal merchants were admitted to a formal audience, when one of their orators accused the Portuguese as a nation of faithless plunderers: Gama, he said, was an exiled pirate, who had marked his course with depredation and blood. If he were not a pirate, still there was no excuse for allowing such warlike foreigners any footing in a country already supplied with all that nature and commerce could give. He expatiated on the great service which the Moorish traders had rendered to Calicut, or wherever they settled; and ended with a threat, that all the Moors would leave the Zamorin's ports, and find some other settlement, if he permitted these foreigners to have any share in the commerce of his dominions.

However staggered by these arguments and threats, the Zamorin was not blind to the self-interest and malice of the Moors. He therefore ordered that the admiral should once more be brought before him. In the meanwhile the catwal tried many stratagems to get the ships into the harbour; and, at last, in the name of his master, made an absolute demand that the sails and rudder should be delivered up, as the pledge of Gama's honesty. But these demands were as absolutely refused by Gama, who sent a letter to his brother, by Monzaida, enforcing his former orders in the strongest manner, declaring that his fate gave him no concern, that he was only unhappy lest the fruits of all their labours and dangers should be lost. After two days spent in vain altercation with the catwal, Gama was brought as a prisoner before the king. The king repeated his accusation, upbraided him with non-compliance with the requests of his minister; yet urged him, if he were an exile or a pirate, to confess freely, in which case he promised to take him into his service, and highly promote him on account of his abilities. But Gama, who with great spirit had baffled all the stratagems of the catwal, behaved with the same undaunted bravery before the king. He asserted his innocence, pointed out the malice of the Moors, and the improbability of his piracy; boasted of the safety of his fleet, offered his life rather than his sails and rudders, and concluded with threats in the name of his sovereign. The Zamorin, during the whole conference, eyed Gama with the keenest attention, and clearly perceived in his unfaltering mien the dignity of truth, and the consciousness that he was the admiral of a great monarch. In their late address, the Moors had treated the Zamorin as somewhat dependent upon them, and he saw that a commerce with other nations would certainly lessen their dangerous importance. His avarice strongly desired the commerce of Portugal; and his pride was flattered in humbling the Moors. After many proposals, it was at



last agreed, that of Gama's twelve attendants he should leave seven as hostages, that what goods were on board his vessels should be landed, and that Gama should be safely conducted to his ship; after which the treaty of commerce and alliance was to be finally settled. And thus, when the assassination of Gama seemed inevitable, the Zamorin suddenly dropped the demand of the sails and rudders, rescued him from his determined enemies, and restored him to liberty and the command of his ships.

As soon as he was on board, the goods were landed, accompanied by a letter from Gama to the Zamorin, wherein he boldly complained of the treachery of the catwal. The Zamorin, in answer, promised to make inquiry, and to punish him if guilty; but did nothing in the affair. Gama, who had now anchored nearer the city, every day sent two or three different persons on some business to Calicut, that as many of his men as possible might be able to give some account of India. The Moors, in the meanwhile, constantly assailed the ears of the king, who now began to waver; when Gama, who had given every proof of his desire of peace and friendship, sent another letter, in which he requested the Zamorin to permit him to leave a consul at Calicut to manage the affairs of King Emmanuel. But to this request, the most reasonable result of a commercial treaty, the Zamorin returned a refusal full of rage and indignation. Gama, now fully master of the character of Zamorin, resolved to treat a man of such an inconstant, dishonourable disposition with a contemptuous silence. This contempt was felt by the king, who, yielding to the advice of the catwal, and the entreaties of the Moors, seized the Portuguese goods, and ordered two of the seven hostages, the two who had the charge of the cargo, to be put in irons.

The admiral remonstrated by means of Monzaida, but the king still persisted in his treacherous breach of royal faith. Repeated solicitations made him more haughty. Gama now resorted to force. He took a vessel in which were six nayres, or noblemen, and nineteen of their servants. The servants he set ashore to relate the tidings; the nobleman he detained. As soon as the news had time to spread through the city, he hoisted his sails, and, though with a slow motion, seemed to proceed on his homeward voyage. The city was now in an uproar; the friends of the captive noblemen surrounded the palace, and loudly accused the policy of the Moors. The king, in all the perplexed distress of a haughty, and avaricious, and a weak prince, sent after Gama, delivered up all the hostages, and submitted to his proposals; nay, solicited that an agent should be left, and even descended to the meanness of a palpable lie. The two factors, he said, he had put in irons, only to detain them till he might write letters to his brother Emmanuel, and the goods he had kept on shore that an agent might be sent to dispose of them. Gama, however, perceived a mysterious trifling and, previous to any treaty, insisted upon the restoration of the goods.

The day after this altercation Monzaida came on board the admiral's ship in much perturbation. The Moors, he said, had raised great commotions, and had enraged the king against the Portuguese. The king's ships were getting ready, and a numerous Moorish fleet from Mecca was daily expected. To delay Gama till this force arrived was

the purpose of the court and of the Moors, who were now confident of success. To this information Monzaida added, that the Moors, suspecting his attachment to Gama, had determined to assassinate him. That he had narrowly escaped from them; that it was impossible for him to recover his effects, and that his only hope was in the protection of Gama. Gama rewarded him with the friendship he had so well merited, took him with him, as he desired, to Lisbon, and procured him a recompense for his services.

Almost immediately after Monzaida, seven boats arrived, loaded with the goods, and demanded the restoration of the captive noblemen. Gama took the goods on board, but refused to examine if they were entire, and also declined to deliver the prisoners. He had been promised an ambassador to his sovereign, he said, but had been so often deluded, he could trust such a faithless people no longer; and would, therefore, carry the captives in his power, to convince the King of Portugal what insults and injustice his ambassadors and admiral had suffered from the Zamorin of Calicut. Having thus dismissed the Indians, he fired his cannon and hoisted his sails. A calm, however, detained him on the coast some days, and the Zamorin, seizing the opportunity, sent what vessels he could fit out, twenty of a larger size, sixty in all, full of armed men, to attack him. Though Gama's cannon were well played, confident of their numbers, they pressed on to board him, when a sudden tempest, which Gama's ships rode out in safety, considerably dispersed the Indian fleet, and completed their ruin.

After this victory, the admiral made a halt at a little island near the shore, where he erected a cross, bearing the name and arms of his Portuguese Majesty; and from this place, by the hand of Mozaida, he wrote a letter to the Zamorin, wherein he gave a full and circumstantial account of all the plots of the catwal and the Moors. Still, however, he professed his desire of a commercial treaty, and promised to represent the Zamorin in the best light to Emmanuel. The prisoners, he said, should be kindly used, were only kept as ambassadors to his sovereign, and should be returned to India when they were enabled from experience to give an account of Portugal. The letter he sent by one of the captives, who by this means obtained his liberty.

The fame of Gama had now spread over the Indian seas, and the Moors were everywhere intent on his destruction. As he was near the shore of Anchédiva, he beheld the appearance of a floating isle, covered with trees, advance towards him. But his prudence was not to be thus deceived. A bold pirate named Timoja, by linking together eight vessels full of men, and covered with green boughs, thought to board him by surprise. But Gama's cannon made seven of them fly; the eight, loaded with fruits and provisions, he took. The beautiful island of Anchédiva now offered a convenient place to careen his ships and refresh his men. While he staid there the first minister of Zabajo, king of Goa, one of the most powerful princes of India, came on board, and, in the name of his master, congratulated the admiral in the Italian tongue. Provisions, arms, and money were offered to Gama, and he was entreated to accept the friendship of



Zabajo. The admiral was struck with admiration, the address and abilities of the minister appeared so conspicuous. He said he was an Italian by birth, but in sailing to Greece had been taken by pirates, and after various misfortunes had been necessitated to enter the service of a Mahomedan prince, the nobleness of whose disposition he commended in the highest terms. Yet, with all his abilities, Gama perceived an artful inquisitiveness, that nameless something which does not accompany simple honesty. After a long conference, Gama abruptly upbraided him as a spy, and ordered him to be put to the torture; this soon brought a confession that he was a Polonian Jew by birth, and was sent to examine the strength of the Portuguese by Zabajo, who was mustering all his power to attack them. Gama, on this, immediately set sail, taking the spy with him, who afterwards became of great service to Emanuel.

Gama now stood westward through the Indian Ocean, and after being long delayed by calms, arrived off Magadoxa, the coast of Africa. This place was a principal port of the Moors; he therefore levelled the walls of the city with his cannon, and burned and destroyed all the ships in the harbour. Soon after this, he descried eight Moorish vessels bearing down upon him; his artillery, however, soon made them use their oars in flight, nor could Gama overtake any of them for want of wind. He now reached the hospitable harbour of Melinda. His men, almost worn out with fatigue and sickness, here received, a second time, every assistance which an accomplished and generous prince could bestow. And having taken an ambassador on board, he again gave his sails to the wind, in hope that he might pass the Cape of Good Hope while the favourable weather continued, for his acquaintance with the eastern seas now suggested to him that the tempestuous season was periodical. Soon after he set sail, his brother's ship struck on a sand bank, and was burnt by order of the admiral. His brother and part of the crew he took into his own ship, the rest on board of Coello's; now were more hands now alive than were necessary to man the two vessels which remained. Having taken in provisions at the island of Zanzibar, where they were kindly entertained by a Mohammedan prince of the same sect as the king of Melinda, they safely doubled the Cape of Good Hope, on April 29, 1499, and continued till they reached the island of St. Jago, in favourable weather. But a tempest here separated the two ships.

The admiral was now near the Azores, when Paulus de Gama, long worn with fatigue and sickness, was unable to endure the motion of the vessel. Vasco, therefore, put into the island of Terceira, in hope of his brother's recovery. And such was his affection, that, rather than leave him, he gave the command of his ship to one of his officers. But the hope of recovery was vain. John de Sa proceeded to Lisbon with the flag-ship, while the admiral remained behind to soothe the death-bed of his brother and perform his funeral rites. Coello, in the meantime, landed at Lisbon, and hearing that Gama was not arrived, imagined he might either be shipwrecked or beating about in distress. Without seeing one of his family, he immediately set sail on purpose to bring relief to his friend and admiral. But this generous design,

more the effect of friendship than of just consideration, was prevented, by an order from the king, before his ship got out of the Tagus.

The particulars of the voyage were diffused by Coello, and the joy of the king was only equalled by the admiration of the people. Yet, while all the nation was fired with zeal to express their esteem for the happy admiral, he himself, the man who was such an enthusiast as to the success of the voyage that he would willingly have sacrificed his life in India to secure that success, was now, in the completion of it, a dejected mourner. The compliments of the court, and the shouts of the streets, were irksome to him, for his brother, the companion of his toils and dangers, was not there to share the joy. As soon as he had waited on the king, he shut himself up in a lonely house near the sea-side at Bethlehem, from whence it was sometime ere he was drawn to mingle in public life.

During this important expedition two years and almost two months elapsed. Of 160 men who went out, only 55 returned. These were all rewarded by the king. Coello was pensioned with 100 ducats a year, and made a fidalgo, or gentleman of the king's household, a degree of nobility in Portugal. The title of Don was annexed to the family of Vasco de Gama; he was appointed admiral of the eastern seas, with an annual salary of 3,000 ducats, and a part of the king's arms was added to his.

Gama's safe return home was hailed as the harbinger of a new and glorious era. The city rang with transports of joy. Concluding that the rich commerce of India and the East was now secured to them, the inhabitants proposed nothing less than to become immediately the first commercial and maritime power in the world. The pope also hastened to crown the discovery with his sanction, and conferred on the Portuguese monarch the proud title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India."

Vasco de Gama sailed again from Lisbon, on the 3d of March, 1502, having the command of thirteen ships and two caravels. When he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had passed Cape Corrientes, he went with four of the smallest vessels to Sofala, sending on the remainder of the fleet to wait his arrival at Mozambique. His visit to Sofala was owing to orders from the king, to examine the situation of the city, and to endeavour to find a proper site for a fort, that the Portuguese might monopolize the traffic in gold. He remained there twenty-five days, during which he settled a treaty of amity with the king, and had leave to establish a factory; after which mutual presents were interchanged, and Gama left Sofala. In going out of the river, however, one of the ships was lost, but all the men were saved.

Proceeding to Mozambique, he made friendship with the king, who had been hostile on his former voyage, and even obtained leave to settle a factor with several assistants, who were left to supply provisions to such ships as might touch here on the voyage to, or from, India. Here, likewise, the caravel destined for that purpose was set up, and, provided with guns and a sufficient crew, was left for the protection of the factory. Sailing for Quiloa, he obtained redress for injuries previously received, by the payment of a sum of gold yearly,



and a principal among the Moors, whom the king hated, was given by the King Ibrahim, as a hostage for the payment.

Joined by the squadron of ships he had left behind, he proceeded with the whole fleet for Melinda, where he took in water, and visited the king. Going from thence for India, and having arrived at the north of Cananor, he met a ship belonging to the Moors of Mecca, and bound for Calicut, which was taken after a stout resistance. On the ship surrendering, Gama went on board, and, summoning all the principal Moors into his presence, ordered them to produce all their goods on pain of being thrown overboard. They replied they had nothing to produce, as all their goods were in Calicut; on which Gama ordered one of them to be bound, hand and foot, and thrown into the sea. The rest, being intimidated by this procedure, immediately delivered up everything belonging to them, which was very valuable, all of which was committed to the charge of the factor appointed for conducting the trade at Cochin, by whose direction they were deposited in one of the Portuguese ships. Gama ordered all the children belonging to the Moors to be taken on board one of his own ships, and vowed to make them all friars in the Church of the Virgin, at Belem, which he afterwards did.

All the ordinary merchandize belonging to the Moors was divided among his own men; and when all the goods were removed, he ordered Stephen de Gama to confine the Moors under hatches, and to set the ship on fire, to revenge the death of some Portuguese who were slain in the factory at Calicut. Soon after the Moors broke open the hatches and quenched the fire; on which the admiral ordered Stephen de Gama to lay them aboard. The Moors, rendered desperate by this gross inhumanity, defended themselves to the utmost, and threw firebrands into the ship of their captors to set it on fire. Night coming on, Stephen had to desist, but was ordered to watch the Moorish ship carefully, that it might not escape; and when day appeared, he was again commanded to set the ship on fire, which he did, after forcing the Moors to retreat into the poop. Some of the Moors leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands, and endeavoured to swim to the boats of the Portuguese; but all of them were slain in the water; and those that remained in the ship were all drowned, as the vessel sunk. It is a dreadful tale, at which every humane heart sickens, that of 300 Moors, of whom 30 were women, not one escaped alive!

Gama, soon after this massacre, arrived at Cananor, where he sent, by his ambassadors, a message to the king, informing him of his arrival, and asking an audience. On this the Rajah ordered a platform of timber to be constructed, which projected a considerable way into the water, covered over with carpets and other rich cloths, and having a wooden partition at the end next the land, adorned in the same manner; here the Rajah arrived first, with a multitude of attendants, and the sounds of trumpets and other musical instruments. The admiral followed in his boat, attended by all the boats of the fleet, decked out with flags and streamers, and with the music, also, of drums and trumpets, and disembarked at the outer end of the platform, under a general salute from the ordinance in the boats, and

accompanied by all his captains and a number of men fully armed. Two great basins of silver gilt, filled with branches of coral, and other things esteemed of value in India, were borne before him. He was cordially welcomed at the door of the Pavilion by the Rajah; they then entered it, and, at the Rajah's desire, the admiral sat down with him. At this interview a treaty of friendship and commerce was settled, and a factory allowed to be established at Cananor.

The admiral now proceeded in his fleet to the harbour of Calicut, where he demanded redress for wrongs previously endured in the seizure of goods in the factory, and the slaughter of some of the Portuguese. As this was refused by the time appointed, he, having some Malabar prisoners whom he had distributed through the fleet, ordered their hands and feet to be cut off and sent on shore, with a letter written in Arabic to the Zamorin, in which he threatened to visit him in a similar manner for his deceitful conduct, and repeated breaches of faith. The next day the city was cannonaded, by which great injury was done; the royal palace was entirely demolished, as were several houses belonging to the principal inhabitants.

From Calicut, the admiral sailed for Cochin, and immediately on his casting anchor the rajah sent on board certain hostages to remain as sureties; and when de Gama landed the king went in person to meet him. At this interview the rajah delivered up the Portuguese who had remained in his country, and the admiral presented a letter from the King of Portugal, returning thanks for his kindness, and expressing his satisfaction at a settlement of a factory for trade at Cochin. The admiral also delivered a present from the King of Portugal, consisting of a rich golden crown set with jewels, a gold enamelled collar, two richly-wrought silver fountains, two pieces of figured arras, a splendid tent or pavilion, a piece of crimson satin, and another of velvet, all of which the rajah received with much satisfaction. Not being acquainted with the purpose of some of these things, the admiral explained it, and ordered the tent to be set up to show its use, under which a new treaty of amity was completed. The rajah appointed a house for the use of the Portuguese factory, and all the details were duly written down. The rajah delivered now a present for the King of Portugal, consisting of two gold bracelets, set with precious stones, a long sash or turban used by the Moors, of cloth of silver; two large pairs of fine Bengal cotton cloth, and a stone to which some magical properties were ascribed.

While the ships were taking in their cargoes at Cochin, a message was brought to the admiral from the Zamorin, engaging, if he would return to Calicut, to make a complete restitution of everything that had been taken from the Portuguese, and that a treaty of friendship and commerce should be immediately arranged between them. After considering this message the admiral ordered the messenger to be put in prison, meaning to take revenge on him in case the Zamorin should prove deceitful in this instance, as he had already been in many others. After this precaution he went to Calicut, more for the purpose of endeavouring to recover the merchandize than from any expectation of procuring the friendship of the Zamorin. For this reason he took only his own ship, leaving Stephen de Gama in the



command at Cochin in his absence. The captains of the fleet were much opposed to this rashness ; yet could not persuade him to take a larger force, as he said he should be sufficiently protected by the squadron of Vincent Sodre, which was cruising on the coast, whom he could join on any emergency. On his arrival at Calicut the Zamorin sent word that he would recompense him next day for all the goods which had been taken from Cabral, and would afterwards renew the trade and settle the factory on a proper footing. But as soon as he understood that the admiral had come with so small a force, he commanded thirty-four paraws to be got in readiness with all expedition, for the purpose of taking his ship. And so unexpectedly did these assail him, that the admiral was forced to cut one of his cables and make out to seaward, which he was fortunately enabled to do as the wind came off from the land. Yet the paraws pursued him so closely that he must infallibly have been taken, if it had not been for the squadron of Sodre making its appearance, on sight of which the paraws gave over the chase and retired to Calicut.

On his return the admiral immediately ordered the messenger of the Zamorin to be hanged. The failure of this treacherous attempt against Gama gave much concern to the Zamorin, who now resolved to try if he could induce the Rajah of Cochin to refuse a loading to the Portuguese, and to send away their factory from his port. With this view he transmitted a letter to that prince in the following terms :—“ I am informed that you favour the Christians, whom you have admitted into your city, and supplied with goods and provisions. It is possible you may not see the danger of this procedure, and may not know how displeasing it is to me. I request of you to remember the friendship which has hitherto subsisted between us, and that you now incur my displeasure for so small a matter in supporting these Christian robbers, who are accustomed to plunder the countries belonging to other nations. My desire is, therefore, that for the future you may neither receive them into your city, nor give them spices ; by which you will both do me a great pleasure, and will bind me to requite your friendship in whatever way you may desire. I do not more earnestly urge these things at the present time, being convinced you will comply without farther entreaty, as I would do for you in any matter of importance.”

The Rajah of Cochin answered in the following terms :—“ That he knew not how to expel the Christians from his city, whom he had received as friends, and to whom he had passed his word for trade and amity. He denied that his friendly reception of the Christians could be construed as an offence to the Zamorin, as it was the custom in the ports of Malabar to favour all merchants who resorted thither for trade ; and declared his resolution to maintain his engagements inviolate to the Portuguese, who had brought great sums of gold and silver, and large quantities of merchandize, into his dominions, in the course of their trade.” The Zamorin was much offended by this answer of the Rajah of Cochin, to whom he wrote a second time, advising him earnestly to abandon the Portuguese, if he had any respect for his own welfare. The Rajah of Cochin was not to be moved, either by the persuasions or threatenings of the Zamorin, and sent a reply to his

second letter, in which he declared he should never be induced to commit a base or treacherous action by fear of the consequences, and was resolved to persist in maintaining his treaty of trade and amity with the Portuguese. Finding that he could not prevail on the Rajah of Cochin to concur with him, he commanded twenty-nine large ships to be fitted out, in order to assail the Portuguese fleet when on its return homewards, expecting he should be able to destroy them with more ease when fully laden.

The Rajah of Cochin gave no intimation to the admiral of the letters and messages which had been interchanged between him and the Zamorin, until he went to take leave; at which time he declared he would hazard the loss of his dominion to serve the King of Portugal. The admiral, after many expressions of gratitude for his friendly disposition and honourable regard for his engagements, assured him that the king, his master, would never forget the numerous demonstrations he had given of friendship, and would give him such assistance as should not only enable him to defend his own dominions, but to reduce other countries under his authority. He desired him not to be in fear of the Zamorin, against whom there should henceforwards be carried on so fierce a war that he would have enough of employment in defending himself, instead of being able to attack others. In this the general alluded to the aid which the rajah might expect from the ships that were to remain in India, under the command of Vincent Sodre. All this conversation took place in presence of many of the principal nayres, at which circumstance the rajah was much pleased, as he knew these people were in friendship with the Moors, and had opposed the grant of a factory to the Portuguese at Cochin.

Having completed the loading of ten ships, the admiral sailed from Cochin on his homeward-bound voyage, and when about three leagues from Pandarene he descried the Moorish fleet of twenty-nine large ships coming towards him. After consulting with the captains of his fleet, and the wind being favourable for the purpose, he immediately bore down to engage them. The ships commanded by Vincent Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Perez, being very good sailors, closed up first with the enemy, and immediately attacked two of the largest ships of the Moors. Sodre fought with one of these alone, and Raphael and Perez assailed the other. Almost on the first onset great numbers of the enemies were so dismayed, that they leaped into the sea to escape by swimming. On the coming up of Gama with the rest of the fleet, all the enemies' ships made off as fast as they could towards the shore, except those two which beset at the first, and were unable to escape, were accordingly taken possession of. Gama, considering that all his ships were richly laden, would not pursue the flying enemy, being afraid he might lose some of his ships on the shoals; but sent some men in boats, and slew about three hundred of the Moors, who had endeavoured to save themselves by swimming from the two captured ships. These vessels were accordingly discharged of their cargoes, which consisted of great quantities of rich merchandize—among which were six large porcelain jars, which was very rare, costly, and much admired in Portugal; four large vessels of



silver, and many silver perfuming pans; also, many basons of silver gilt. But what exceeded all the rest was a golden idol of thirty pounds weight, with a monstrous face. The eyes of this image were two very fine emeralds. The vestments were of beaten gold, richly wrought and set with precious stones; and on the breast was a large carbuncle or ruby, as large as the coin called a *cruzado*, which shone like fire.

The goods being taken out, the two ships were set on fire, and the admiral made sail for Cananor, where the rajah gave him a house for a factory, in which Gonzalo Gill Barbosa was settled as factor, having Sebastian Alvarez and Diego Godino and others for assistants, in all to the number of twenty. The rajah undertook to protect these men, and all that might be left in the factory, and bound himself to supply lading in spices to all the ships of the King of Portugal, at certain fixed prices. In return for these favourable conditions, the admiral engaged, on behalf of the King of Portugal, to defend the rajah in all wars that might arise from this agreement; arranging for peace and friendship between the Rajahs of Cochin and Cananor, and that the latter should give no aid to any one who might make war upon the former, under the pain of forfeiting the friendship of the Portuguese. After this, the admiral gave orders to Vincent Sodre to protect the coast with his squadron till the month of February; and if any war should break out or seem probable between the Zamorin and Trimumpara, he was to winter in Cochin, for the protection of that city; otherwise he was to set sail for the straits of the Red Sea, to make prizes of all the ships belonging to Mecca that traded to the Indies.

All these matters being properly arranged, Gama departed from Cananor for Portugal, on the 20th December, 1502, with thirteen ships, richly laden, three of which had taken in their cargoes at Cananor, and the other ten at Cochin. The whole fleet arrived in safety at Mozambique, where the ship commanded by Stephen de Gama, having sprung a leak, was unladen, and laid on shore to be repaired. Seven days after their departure from Mozambique the ship commanded by Lewis Collinho sprung a great leak, and they were forced to endeavour to return to Mozambique to repair her; but the wind being contrary, they had to do this in a creek on the coast. Continuing their voyage, they were assailed by a sudden tempest off Cape Corientes, in which the ship commanded by Stephen de Gama had her sails all split by the storm, owing to which she was separated from the fleet, and no more seen till six days after the arrival of the admiral at Lisbon, when she came in with her mast broken. The storm having abated, during which the fleet took shelter under the lee of Cape Corientes, the admiral prosecuted his voyage to Lisbon, and arrived safe at Cascais on the 1st of September, 1503. All the noblemen of the court went to Cascais to receive him honourably, and to accompany him to the presence of the king. On his way to court he was preceded by a page carrying a silver basin, in which was the tribute from the King of Quiloa. The king received him with great honour, as he justly merited for his services in discovering the Indies, and in settling factories at Cochin and Cananor, to the great profit of the kingdom. In reward for these

brilliant services, the king made him Admiral of the Indies, and likewise gave him the title of Lord of Videgueyia, which was his own.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DISCOVERIES OF MENDIZ PINTO AND MAGELLAN.

AMONG the early European adventurers in the Indian seas Ferdinand Mendez Pinto obtained great distinction. So strange, however, were the tidings he brought, that one of our dramatists says "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude." But, like several of his brethren in navigation, he regained his reputation, and many of his most startling statements were amply confirmed by other and credible witnesses.

Pinto was born of poor parents at Montemorvelho, in Portugal, and determined in early life to embark for India, and expose himself to any fortune, good or bad, which might there befall him. On arriving at Diu, Pinto found a captain of his acquaintance just setting sail, on a mission to the Red Sea, whom, being flattered with the hope of becoming rich at once, he was induced to accompany. They first landed at Massua, and proceeded to the Abyssinian coast. The alliance of Portugal being then desired against the Turks, procured them an excellent reception. The son of the Baharnegash escorted them, with a body of horse, to the residence of the queen mother. That princess held out to them the staff in her hand to kiss; assured them that their arrival was grateful to her as the nightly dew to the fresh garden, and as the arrival of Queen Helena had been to the Holy Land. They were magnificently lodged, and presented with a sum of money, amounting to 240 ducats.

Setting sail, then, for the port of Aikeeko, they saw at a distance three Turkish vessels, which they imagined would be a great prize. By incredible efforts of rowing they succeeded in coming up, when these proved to be galleys, well armed; whereupon the Portuguese turned, and sought to make off much more eagerly than they had endeavoured to advance, but with less success. The Turks, hoisting all their sails, soon reached and, after an obstinate resistance, captured them. The killed were cut in quarters and hung at the mainyard, in token of victory. Pinto, and the other survivors, were carried into Mocha, and paraded through the streets. An unbounded zeal was then enkindled to maltreat them to the utmost possible extent, the caci assuring the people that by so doing they would obtain plenary indulgence for all their sins. Even the women and children, though confined to the house, came to the windows, collected and threw over upon them all the refuse and filth which the houses afforded. At night they were thrown into a dungeon, and kept there for fifteen days, without any food, except a little barley meal, soaked in water.

Pinto was then sold for a slave; but, being transferred to various masters, he was brought to Ormus, where he was redeemed by the Portuguese government. He then embarked for India, on board an armament commanded by Gonzalo Vaz Coutinho. Meeting with a



\* Turkish galley, they attacked it, contrary to the advice of their ally the Queen of Onor, who assured them they would find her too hard for them. They were accordingly beat off, with dreadful loss, and a great number killed, among whom was a son of the governor himself. They were then so unreasonable as to upbraid the queen, as having aided in this dreadful catastrophe, though she solemnly protested that her dismay could not have been deeper had she been compelled to eat a piece of cow's flesh, than it was at the disaster which had befallen the Portuguese. They were obliged, therefore, to make the best of their way to Goa, where Pinto hired himself as a soldier to Pedro de Faria, who was going as governor to Malacca. There his conduct seems to have been much approved; and he was employed in embassies and transactions with several of the princes, both on the continent and the neighbouring shore of Sumatra.

At length he fell in with one Antonio de Faria, who had fitted out a great commercial concern to be sent up the gulf of Siam, and who induced Pinto to embark in the expedition. They put on board a large cargo, purchased chiefly on credit, in sanguine hopes, from reports they had heard, of gaining 600 per cent., and then at once becoming rich men. The issue presented a sad reverse. Entering the river of Iugor, an Arab junk attacked them; lances, darts, and stones began to rain like hail, till not one of the crew remained without a wound. All resistance then ceased; when the Moors rushed on board, and began killing outright all who remained alive. Pinto, with three others, leaped into the sea; and though one was drowned, the rest reached the shore.

They found themselves in the heart of a morass, wounded, stripped of everything, and in danger of perishing with hunger. They spent six days in a place so environed with marshes, that they were unable to extricate themselves. On the seventh, seeing a large bark passing up the river, they fell on their knees, and, lifting up their hands, began, in the most doleful cries, to implore help. The sailors were passing on; but an old lady came up from below, and commiserating the sad spectacle, insisted that the sufferers should be taken on board.

On hearing their story, she assured them that their wrongs and miseries, great as they were, did not equal hers, of which she gave, indeed, a most doleful catalogue—that her husband and her three sons had been trampled to death by the elephants of the King of Siam; that her three grown-up daughters had been thrown into burning furnaces, and thirty-two of her relatives had shared the same fate; that life was a burden, only alleviated by the opportunities of succouring the unhappy. She informed them, that they were now in the power of Coja Acem, who had seen his father and two brothers fall by the hands of Pinto's countrymen, and whom she had often heard vowing deadly vengeance on all that bore the name of Portuguese. She then refitted the voyagers to the utmost of her power, and put them in a condition to set out for Patna, where Faria was impatiently waiting the results of his adventure.

Reflecting on the news, he saw the impossibility of returning to Malacca, where he had bonds to the extent of 12,000 cruzados ready to be executed against him. He, therefore, resolved instantly to set

out against these robbers, and not to return till he had obtained vengeance. Pinto was seized with similar ardour, and promptly devoted himself to the same cause. They found no difficulty in collecting a band of volunteers, and even in equipping and arming a little bark, with which they forthwith set sail. The rule on which they proceeded was, to attack every junk they met, and thought themselves able to take, under the idea that it might possibly be that of Coja Acem; but when found otherwise, it was not thought necessary to alter the mode of treatment. In this manner, sailing along the coasts of Cambodia, Cochin China, and Chiampā, they, doing much wrong, obtained considerable wealth.

Having now acquired three junks and a smaller vessel, they anchored in a bay where they saw approaching four lanteas, whence issued a loud concert of musical instruments. The lanteas remained for about two hours at a little distance, as if watching the voyagers, when one of them approached, on the arrival of which the Portuguese learned that this was the escort of a bride of distinction, daughter of the governor of the neighbouring town, who was coming to meet her destined husband, and had supposed that their armament was his. The bride had been much surprised and dismayed at his not having come immediately on board; she wrote, therefore, a long letter, professing her tender love, and her earnest desire to see him. She concluded by warning him to beware, lest, if he delayed till to-morrow's dawn, he should no longer find her among the living.

As soon as the lantea was seen approaching, Faria had caused all the Portuguese sailors to go beneath, and only the Chinese to remain on deck. At their invitation the bride's uncle, with two others, came on board, when they were instantly seized and put under hatches. The Portuguese then threw a rope round the mast of the lantea, to prevent its escape, and immediately boarded and took it. They then pushed forward to the other three lanteas, and entered, without resistance, that in which the bride was, the other two escaping. Most of the ladies on board being stricken in years, were judged not worth retaining, and therefore put on shore. The captors kept only the bride, her two brothers, and twenty mariners, who were of use to them in navigating the junks.

They then put to sea, and soon met five lanteas, whence the sounds of music and rejoicing intimated that it was the bridegroom coming in triumph to meet his bride. As he passed along, the Portuguese gave him a salutation, which he gaily returned, little suspecting that they were bearing for ever away from him the object of his affection. It was not long, however, before calamity befel them. Sailing near the Ladrone islands, they were overtaken by a violent tempest that dashed all the four junks to pieces; while, of upwards of 500 men that composed the crew, not more than 50 escaped. They found themselves on a marshy desolate shore, stripped of all their wealth, destitute of everything, and ready to perish.

It was not long, however, before a sail appeared in the distance, whereupon the Portuguese, by Faria's direction, hiding themselves in a wood, saw a lantea approach, out of which came about thirty Chinese, who, having fastened the vessel, left it, and began to run



confusedly about ; cutting wood, washing their linen, wrestling, and amusing themselves with various pastimes. Faria then called together his men, and prepared them to attack the Chinese, and on an appointed signal, the Portuguese sprang out of their ambuscade, cut the ropes, and throwing themselves into the lantea, pushed it out to sea. The unhappy Chinese rushed to the shore, with cries of despair ; but a fire was immediately opened, which obliged them to retreat into the wood. The Portuguese found on board only a little boy, who told them, with floods of tears, that the lantea belonged to his father, and contained all the wealth he had acquired by thirty years of unremitting industry ; and that being on his way to a port in Camboia, he had touched at this island for water, where he had been deprived of his all.

The Portuguese, being now masters of the vessel, sailed for Liam-poo, and anchored in a river where some other ships were also lying. It then occurred to them, that they might advantageously secure an accession to their force. At midnight they brought themselves close to a junk, and leaping on board, seized the sleeping Chinese, and warning them that if they emitted the least sound they would instantly be put to death, they quietly possessed themselves of the ship, and sailed off.

Sometime after, Faria fell in with a native pirate, called Quiaï Panian, who informed him that he had suffered similar vicissitudes of fortune with himself ; that he could not now return to his wife and children, since the king of the country would undoubtedly confiscate all his effects, as he had done to many for much smaller offences ; that he was, therefore, willing to join company, on condition of receiving a third of the gains, to which Faria fully agreed. Soon after a memorable event took place. They met at sea with a boat in which were eight wounded Portuguese, who told them that their armament had been attacked by a pirate, who had taken everything, they only escaping in this little boat. They added that this pirate was Coja Acem. Faria started at the name, and eagerly inquiring where his enemy was to be found, learned that he was at the mouth of a neighbouring river, and must be much shattered by the recent engagement.

All sails were immediately hoisted ; and, after two days' progress, they came at night-fall to a spot where the people of a boat informed them that Coja Acem's armament was only two leagues distant. They waited till near day-break, when they drew very near, unperceived, and hoped to surprise the enemy. But his pursuits placing him always on the watch, an alarm bell was rung and a dreadful outcry arose. Coja Acem was heard exclaiming, "Lach ! hilach ! hilach ! lach ! Musselmen ! just men of the holy law of Mohammed, remember the promise made by the prophet in the book of Flowers, that we shall swim in delight through the halls of Mecca, provided we bathe ourselves in the blood of the lawless infidels !" Faria encouraged his men by exclamations which he considered equally effective. With great fury the battle raged for a long time. At length, Coja Acem rushing forwards, Faria sprung upon him, and with a blow of his two-edged sword cleft his cap of mail, and laid him at his feet ; then, with a second stroke, severed his limbs from his body. Thus fell this

terrible chief, who gloried in the name of "Drinker of the blood of the Portuguese." His men made a furious stand for vengeance, but were at length overpowered, driven out of the ship, hunted into the neighbouring villages, and almost all cut to pieces. Faria then restored to his Portuguese informants the junk that had been taken from them, cast the dead into the sea, and divided the booty among his followers.

After a few further advances, Faria was told of an island called *Calemplin*, on the coast of China, wherein were the tombs of sixteen Chinese kings in golden coffins, with other immense treasures and wonders, such as Pinto scarcely dares to recount; but he was assured that they might be seized without any trouble or difficulty, except that of sailing to the place. Faria resolved to set out without a moment's delay in search of this wonderful island. After sailing for two or three months along the coast of China, and through the gulph of *Nanquin*, he arrived in sight of it. It was about three hours after sunset, but a bright moonlight enabled them to discover an edifice, the view of which struck them with the deepest astonishment. Neither in the Indies, nor in any other part of the world, had they seen anything which could bear a comparison with it. It was an island at the mouth of a river, about a league in circuit, completely environed with a wall of jasper, the materials of which were so nicely joined, that it appeared all one stone. It was adorned along the top with balustrades of brass, having each a female figure over them, and behind a row of monsters, holding each other by the hand, and going all round the wall. Within was a grove of orange trees, enclosing three hundred and sixty hermitages dedicated to the days of the year. On the shore opposite appeared a crowd of magnificent edifices, the pinnacles of which were all gilded, so that it appeared a city of gold.

This spectacle excited at once in Faria the utmost degree of desire and fear, for it appeared scarcely possible that such treasures should not be carefully guarded. He landed, however, with sixty of his men, and proceeded to the door of one of the hermitages. On knocking, a mild voice answered them from within, that by going round they would find an entrance. They entered, and found a very aged man sitting, having a majestic appearance. Faria now said that they were poor shipwrecked mariners, reduced to the greatest extremity, and entreated that he would bestow upon them some little alms. The hermit replied only by the bitterest reproaches, which appeared unaccountable, until we find that, while Faria was speaking, the Portuguese, having rushed on the coffins which were ranged about the room, had begun emptying their contents on the floor, for the sake of the silver mixed with the bones.

At this spectacle the hermit fell into the most dreadful agonies, and several times swooned away. He said that this silver was the fruit of the alms which the dead had collected during life, and was destined to supply their wants in the moon to which they were gone. Faria assured the hermit that he entered reluctantly on this affair, and only from the dread that his comrades would kill him in case of refusal; at the same time making signals to them to proceed. He assured the hermit, however, that he would atone for the deed in due



time by penance and restitution. After the bones had been thoroughly ransacked, he caused them to be collected and put back into the coffins, which appeared to afford the hermit some consolation.

Faria declined the advice of his followers, to carry off this aged person with them; but he had scarcely reached the ship when the highest pinnacle of the island was illumined by a blaze of fire, and a tremendous roar of bells was heard from every part of it. The Chinese on board cried out that these were the signals of alarm, and that unless he wished to sacrifice all their lives he must instantly fly. Faria, almost frantic at this disaster, and his own share in producing it, leaped on shore with a few of his followers, rushed into one of the hermitages, and found two men, who fully confirmed all his apprehensions, and assured him it would be almost impossible to escape. In deep distress they pushed out to sea, and sought the most unfrequented parts of the coast; but a violent tempest arising, drove them upon an unknown shore among rocks, when, the storm greatly increasing, they soon gave themselves up for lost. At midnight, amidst the roaring of the waves, a loud cry arose from Faria's vessel, but it was never heard of more.

That in which Pinto was, struck, and of twenty-five Portuguese, fourteen reached the land before it was dashed to pieces. Again they were reduced to the greatest distress. After begging their bread for some time, they were taken up; and being made slaves, were carried successively to Nanquin and Peking. After being detained a long time in this captivity, a great revolution took place by the invasion and conquest of China by an army of Tartars. The city of Quansi, where the Portuguese were, being subdued by the invaders, the curiosity of the prince was excited by the appearance of Pinto and his companions. So far did they gain his favour, that he attached them to an embassy he was sending to the court of Cochin-China, with directions that they should be there provided with a vessel to convey them to Malacca. But in a port where they touched, the Portuguese quarrelled, and the chief of the embassy declaring he would have nothing to do with such ruffians, left them to themselves.

They now hired themselves as sailors in a vessel going to Japan, and were landed at Bungor. There Pinto cured the daughter of the king, or governor, for which he received ample presents, and was provided with a ship to carry him to his destination. A storm now arising, the vessels were dashed to pieces, and the mariners were thrown on the great Loochoo Island, in so miserable a condition that some of them expired before they could reach the nearest village. To the others, the inhabitants showed the kindest sympathy. The women not only brought an immediate supply of rice, fish, and fruits, but employed six of their number to go through the streets, inviting all the charitably-disposed to make a contribution to the services of the unhappy strangers. So ample was the contribution that all their wants were supplied.

In a few days orders arrived to bring him to the town of Bungor, eight miles distant, for the purpose of being examined by the governor. He suspected them of much evil, and brought various charges against

the Portuguese, when they succeeded in obviating his objections. But an unlooked-for event occurred. A Chinese merchant arrived, who, the instant he beheld the adventurers, hastened to the king, and expressed his astonishment that he should suffer such persons to exist in his dominions. He declared that they were the greatest ruffians on the face of the earth; that robbery and piracy were their sole occupation; and that their hands were dyed in blood. Only last year, he said, they had burned three junks, and killed two hundred men belonging to him. This statement had such an effect on the king, that he gave instant orders for all the Portuguese to be put to death. The people of Bungor were greatly affected by this intelligence, and so powerful an appeal was made to the king on behalf of the condemned, that he not only remitted the sentence of death, but ordered that the Portuguese should be provided with a vessel to convey them wherever they were destined. In return for the kindness thus experienced, Pinto continues his narrative thus far with a description of the island, and an earnest exhortation to his countrymen to undertake its conquest without delay! Pinto now soon reached Malacca: he was subsequently sent on missions to Martaban, Siam, and Japan, and thenceforth pursued a more orderly, though less eventful course. He arrived at Lisbon, where he took up his residence, on the 22nd of September, 1558.

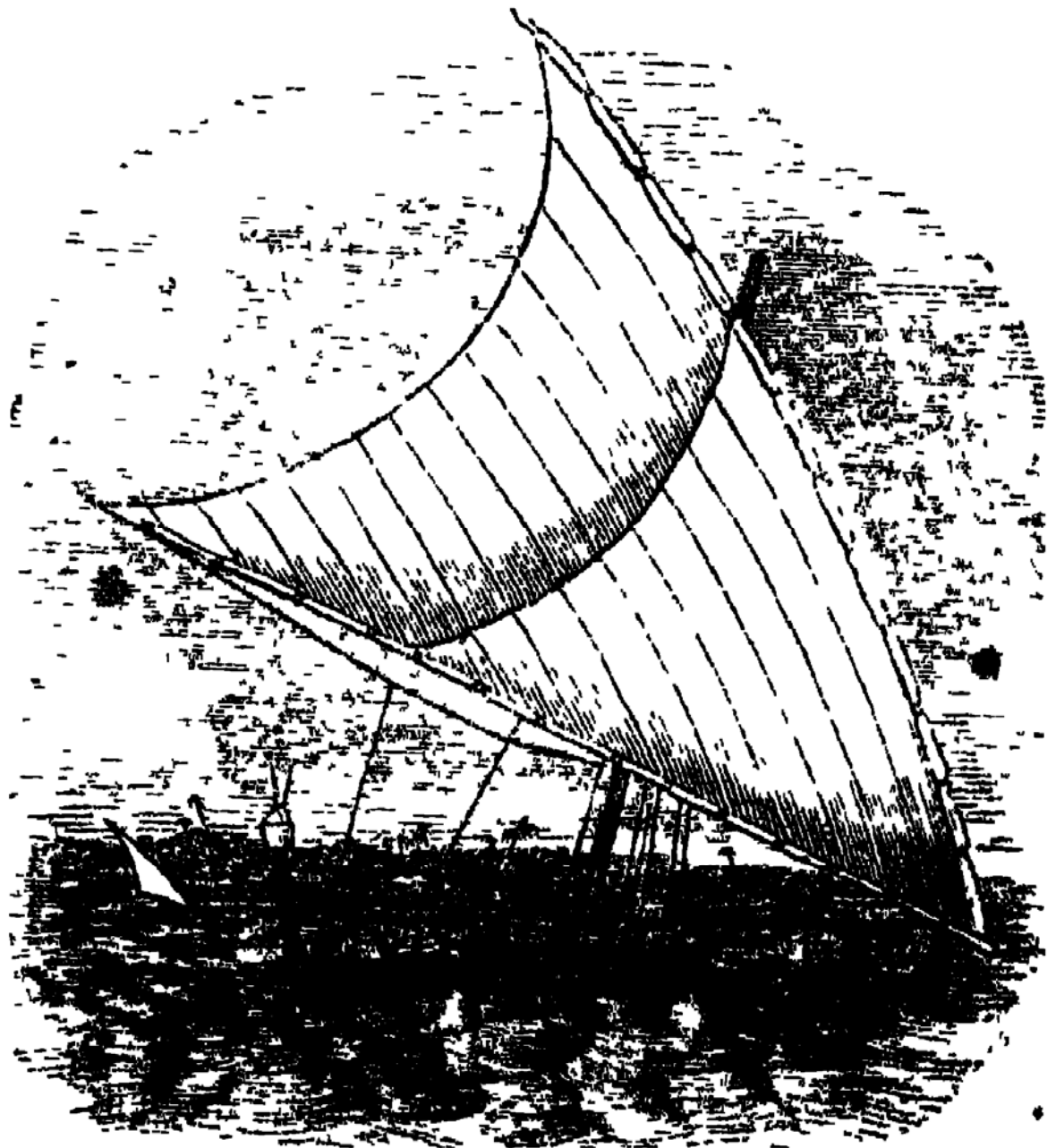
Ferdinand de Magellan, a Portuguese, in conjunction with Ruy Folero, formed the bold design of discovering a new passage by the west to the Molucca Islands, which he offered to prove fell within the bounds assigned by the Pope to the crown of Castile. It is said that he first proposed this enterprise to Emmanuel, King of Portugal, who rejected it, as opening a way for other nations to the East Indies, the trade of which was then monopolized by the Portuguese. The proposition was, however, agreed to by the King of Spain; and on the 20th of September, 1519, Magellan sailed from San Lucar, with five ships and 236 men under his command. His officers soon murmured at their appointments, considering it as a disgrace to be commanded by a renegade Portuguese; and when the fleet was lying at a port in South America, which they named San Julian, a conspiracy was formed against him by three of the captains, but he discovered and quelled it. He caused the captain of one of the ships to be put to death; he boarded the second, and secured the mutineers; and the third submitted.

The coast on which they lay was that of Patagonia. Soon after they reached a cape, to which they gave the name of De las Virgines, forming the straits which now bear the name of Magellan. He exerted all his authority to induce his men to venture on the unknown passage, with the view of crossing a vast ocean beyond it, at the hazard of running short of provisions, of which a supply for three months was all that was remaining. One of his ships abandoned him, and made the best of her way to Europe; but the rest proceeded, and on the 27th of November they discovered the South Sea, which caused Magellan to shed tears of joy. They continued their voyage across this ocean, now visited for the first time by Europeans, and were not long before they suffered those evils from famine which they

had apprehended. So extreme was the necessity to which they were reduced, that the men ate the hides with which the rigging was covered. The weather proved so uniformly calm and temperate, that they gave to the ocean the name of Pacific. The Straits of Magellan are a narrow passage between the island of Terra del Fuego and the southern extremity of the continent of America. Other navigators subsequently passed the same way; but as these straits are exceedingly difficult, and subject to storms, it became common to sail round by Cape Horn rather than through the Straits of Magellan.

Magellan discovered the Indian Archipelago, to some islands of which he gave the name of Ladrones, or islands of the thieves, because the natives evinced a pilfering propensity, in their intercourse with his people. He remarks that the canocs of the islanders were oddly contrived, but sailed with wonderful rapidity. The construction of such a vessel is a direct contradiction to the practice of the rest of mankind; for as others make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike, this Indian vessel, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different; the side intended always to be the lee-side being flat, and the windward-side made rounder, in the manner of other vessels. And to prevent her oversetting, which, from her small breadth and the straight run of her leeward side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow. The weight of the frame is intended to balance the vessel, and the small boat is, by its buoyancy, as it always is in the water, to prevent her oversetting to windward: this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the vessel is made of two pieces, joined endways, and sewed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her. She is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one.

The vessel generally carries six



THE FLYING PROA.



or seven Indians ; two of which are placed in the head and stern, who steer the vessel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman. The other Indians are employed, either in baling out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail. As the bow and stern are alike, so, by only shifting the sail, the vessel can sail either backward or forward, without putting about. These vessels are called proas. As the term *proa* in Spanish is equivalent to the English *prow*, both signifying the head or fore part of a vessel, the primary expression from which they are derived conveying the idea of that which projects or stretches forward, it is probable that the Spaniards bestowed the name *proa* on these vessels from their singular construction.

The Ladrões, and clusters of islands between them and the southern extremity of China, are so near to each other and to the main land, and are also so broken, as well as so irregular in their form and position, as to appear like fragments disjointed from the continent, and from each other, at remote periods, by the successive violence of mighty torrents, or of some sudden convulsions of nature. Thus, the roughness of the coasts of these islands, on which the waves break with fury, combined with their position in reference to the trade winds, drove the natives to verify the adage, that "necessity is the mother of invention." The proas, by sailing most excellently in a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about; and by the flatness of their leeward, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known. The islands have been termed *Islas de las Velas* (Islands of the Sails), from the great number of proas which usually put out to meet any ship which may anchor there.

Here we close our account of the Portuguese, with the remark that, so long as Lisbon enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of Indian commerce, she sat as queen among the cities of the nations; but her glory was of short duration. Scarcely had one century run its course, when Amsterdam became the emporium of eastern trade instead of Lisbon. As the latter sank, the former rose to proud distinction; and when Portugal might almost be said to be blotted out from the map of independent sovereignties, Holland was enabled to assume the rank of a first-rate power in the balance of Europe.

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## CHAPTER V.

### EASTERN ENTERPRISES OF THE ENGLISH, AND THE FIRST CIRCUM-NAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE.

THE earliest communication between England and India has been traced to a remote period in our history. William of Malmesbury relates that Alfred the Great sent a mission to St. Thomas's, on the coast of Coromandel, about A.D. 883; and in the "Saxon Chronicle" we are further told, that the English Monarch, having heard that the Christian missionaries in India were in great distress, despatched

SigheImus, one of his favourite priests, to convey his alms to the monks of St. Thomas's. Having executed his commission, he returned to England, after an absence of several years, bringing with him a considerable number of precious stones, which he deposited in the church of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, of which see he was created bishop, as a reward for his services. In consequence of the splendid account given by SigheImus of the trade, opulence, and luxuries of the East, we are, moreover, assured that Alfred caused several ships to be built and equipped, for the special object of embarking in the Indian trade; and that having lent these ships to a few adventurous merchants, whom he also assisted with money, they performed some successful voyages to the ports of Syria and Egypt, whence they returned richly laden with Indian commodities. It does not, however, appear that the commercial intercourse thus begun by the enterprising genius of Alfred, was continued for any length, or even prosecuted with any regularity during the most prosperous period of his reign. From the death of that great prince to the time of Henry VIII., England was supplied with the commodities of the East by the Venetians and the Florentines.

After the Norman Conquest, an event which contributed to increase the external commerce of England, a ship of considerable burden was sent annually from Venice to the port of Southampton, laden with the various products of India. As the English barons advanced in wealth and civilization, they acquired a taste for luxuries, and the demand for eastern commodities was consequently augmented. In the reign of Edward III. the Venetian merchants employed five ships in the English trade; and the principal part of the cargoes of these vessels consisted in sugar, spices, and aromatics, which were much used at the tables of men of rank. These valuable articles, together with silk and cotton stuffs, were paid for partly in specie, and partly in woollens, untanned leather, and tin; but as the prices of the eastern commodities were very exorbitant, the balance of trade was in favour of the Venetians; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the superiority of English shipping and seamen to those of any other country, neither the statesmen nor the merchants of England used any endeavour to embark in this lucrative branch of commerce—a sufficient proof not only of the want of a trading capital, but of the total absence of that speculative spirit which is the living principle of all commercial pursuits. Hence the English were contented to receive through the Venetians those commodities on which they placed so high a value, and in which they must have been sensible they would have derived more advantage by trading themselves. But when the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope threw the Indian trade into the hands of the Portuguese, and Lisbon became the great emporium for the productions of the East, the merchants of London imported them from that city on their own account, and conveyed them to the Thames in their own ships.

About this period Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant in London, presented a memorial to Henry the Eighth, setting forth the great advantages that would accrue to the nation by opening a direct commerce with India; and, with a view to suit his scheme to the am-

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illustrious spirit of that prince, he proposed to proceed to India by a new route. For, as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the East, and the Spaniards to the West, it was an object worthy of the English to lay open the navigation of the Northern Ocean. Though the project was certainly extremely plausible, it does not appear that Henry ever gave it the smallest encouragement, or even considered its practicability with that attention which might have been expected from him. It was not until the year 1578 that the first light was thrown on this navigation by Sir Francis Drake.

This illustrious man was born near Tavistock, in the year 1545. He was brought up at the expense, and under the care of his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, and at the age of eighteen was the purser of a ship trading to Biscay. At twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at twenty-two was made captain of the *Judith*. He now engaged in expeditions against the Spaniards in the West Indies, in which he did his antagonists some mischief and obtained considerable booty.

In these enterprises he was much assisted by a nation of Indians, who were then engaged in a warfare with the Spaniards. The prince of this people was named Pedro, to whom Drake presented a fine cutlass from his side, which he saw the Indians greatly admired. Pedro, in return, gave him five wedges of gold; which Drake threw into the common stock, saying that he thought it but just that such as on his credit bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, should share the utmost that that voyage produced. Then, having embarked his men, with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England.

Introduced by Sir Christopher Hatton to Queen Elizabeth, and having the countenance and protection of the court, he proposed to take a voyage to the South Seas, through the straits of Magellan; an achievement which no Englishman had ever yet attempted. His project was well received; the Queen furnished him with means, and his own fame quickly obtained for him a sufficient force. His fleet consisted of five small vessels, having on board no more than 164 able men.

Having sailed on the 13th of December, 1577, he soon fell in with the coast of Barbary and Cape de Verde. On the 18th of March he passed the equinoctial line, made for the coast of Brazil a few days after, and entered the river Plata, where he parted company with two of his ships; but having met them again, and taken out their provisions, he turned them adrift. On the 29th of May he entered the port of St. Julian, where he continued two months for the sake of laying in a stock of provisions. On the 20th of August he entered the straits of Magellan, and on the 25th of September passed them, having only his own ship. On the 25th of November he arrived at Macao, which he had appointed as the place of rendezvous in the event of his ships being separated; but Captain Winter, his vice-admiral, having re-passed the straits, had returned to England.

Drake thence continued his voyage along the coast of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, and attacking them on shore, till his men were satiated with plunder; and then, coasting America to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find



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a passage that way back into the Atlantic, but could not, because none exists. However, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking possession of it in the name and for the use of Queen Elizabeth; and, having careened his ship, he set sail from thence, on the 29th of September, 1579, for the Moluccas. He is supposed to have chosen the passage round partly to avoid being attacked by the Spaniards at a disadvantage, and partly because, from the lateness of the season, dangerous storms and hurricanes were apprehended.

On the 13th of October he fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyages. On the 4th of November he got sight of the Moluccas, and, arriving at Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that place. On the 10th of December he made the Celebes, where his ship unfortunately struck on a rock, but, beyond all expectation, they got her off, and continued their course. On the 16th of March he arrived at Java, whence he intended to have directed his course to Malacca; but he found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and to think of returning home. On the 15th of June he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board only fifty-seven men and three casks of water. On the 12th of July he passed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the 16th, and there took in water. On the 11th of September he made the island of Terceira, and on the 3rd of November he entered the harbour of Plymouth. This voyage round the world was performed in two years and about ten months. Shortly after his arrival, the Queen having gone to Deptford, went on board Drake's ship, and there, after dinner, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, at the same time declaring her approbation of all that he had done. She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, as a memorial of his own and his country's glory. A few years afterwards Drake was followed by Cavendish, who performed a similar voyage in a much shorter period.

In 1591, Mr. Raymond and Mr. James Lancaster jointly equipped three vessels for a voyage to India, with a view not only to trade with the natives of the East, but to cruise against the Portuguese ships returning to Europe. Their voyage, however, proved extremely disastrous, and the ships having been wrecked, they returned to England without having accomplished either purpose.

The accounts brought by these mariners of the facility of trading with the natives of Hindoostan, as well as of the general indignation which the atrocities of the Portuguese had excited amongst them, operated as a very powerful inducement with the London merchants to engage in the eastern commerce. They began to speculate on the great advantages to be derived from it; but, as they had not capital enough to carry it on by way of the Cape of Good Hope, on a scale sufficiently large to afford them any chance in a competition with the Portuguese, they resolved to adopt a more prudent line of conduct, and to endeavour to revive the trade with Syria and Egypt, which the Venetians, from a relaxation of their former industry, had permitted to decay. A memorial was accordingly presented to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1594, signed by a considerable number of the most respectable merchants, in which the national benefits likely to arise from an

eastern trade are exhibited in the most favourable light, and in which, therefore, her Majesty is earnestly supplicated to make overtures to the Turkish government for entering into a treaty of commerce, whereby her Majesty's subjects should obtain such privileges as would enable them to open a trade with the merchants of Syria and Egypt, on the solid grounds of reciprocal advantages and entire confidence. The Queen received this proposal with perfect cordiality, expressed her satisfaction at the mercantile spirit which was beginning to show itself in the country, and assured the memorialists that she would lose no time in complying with so rational and laudable a request. The Queen being, besides, always disposed to encourage commercial projects, and entertaining a favourable opinion of this one, immediately despatched letters to the Turkish Emperor at Constantinople, submitting to him certain articles which she proposed as the basis of a treaty of commerce. These letters were received with courtesy; and the proposition which they contained being agreed to with the utmost readiness, a treaty was soon after concluded between the two powers, by which the merchants of England obtained privileges, in the ports of the Turkish Empire, superior to those which had ever before been granted to any other nation. Henceforward the commodities of India were brought to England in English ships; and the trade thus opened with the Turkish empire continued to be conducted with unabated spirit for many years after the establishment of the East India Company.

But this branch of commerce was not attended with those national advantages which it was expected to produce. From the number of hands through which the eastern commodities passed before they reached England, the price put upon them was necessarily high; and the Dutch, who had now established themselves in various parts of India, and vigorously prosecuted the trade thither by way of the Cape of Good Hope, easily undersold the English and the Turkish merchants, even at the London market. This mortifying circumstance served to infuse a new spirit into the commercial ardour which then prevailed, and some of the most opulent London merchants determined, if supported by government, no longer to suffer the Portuguese and the Dutch to monopolize the valuable trade of India. In carrying this determination into effect, they were assisted by the celebrated George, Earl of Cumberland, and a number of gentlemen of independent fortune, who agreed to join them in the speculation of fitting out a certain number of ships to trade to India, provided they obtained a charter from government, granting to those who engaged in this concern, the exclusive privilege of carrying on the commerce between England and India. Upon application being made to the Queen, to know her sentiments on this subject, she expressed her approbation of the measure, and her desire to give it every encouragement. She had, indeed, anticipated the idea of the merchants, and with a view to realize it successfully, Mr. John Mildenhall, the English consul at Constantinople, was sent overland to Hindoostan, charged with letters from Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. The object of this mission was, to obtain from that prince such privileges for the English



merchants who came to the ports of his dominions, as would give them a decided advantage over the other European nations that traded thither. The English ambassador was received at the court of Agra with every mark of courtesy, respect, and distinction, though the artifices that were used by the Portuguese Jesuits, then residing at Agra and Delhi, to impress Akbar with an unfavourable opinion of the English people, appear to have induced him to reject the friendly overtures of Elizabeth, and refuse to accede to her proposals. It is certain that Mildenhall returned to England without having attained the purpose of his mission; but it is not mentioned whether he brought any letters from Akbar to Elizabeth.

The Queen, however, did not wait for the answer of that monarch to decide upon the measure in contemplation; for, on the 31st of December, 1600, about six months subsequent to the departure of Mildenhall from Constantinople, the East India Company was instituted by the grant of a charter from her majesty. This charter was granted to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, constituting them a body politic and corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure, and under the title of the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

The English East India Company appear to have directed their attention to the Red Sea, and the coast of Guzerat, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Captain Sharpey was sent to these two destinations in March, 1607. He sailed uninterruptedly round Africa, till he came to the island of Pemba, when, from adverse winds and currents, he ran a considerable distance to the south-east; but failed to find a favourable breeze. He, however, happily fell in with twelve or thirteen uninhabited islands, which he called "the Desolate," but which he describes as appearing from their abundant animal and vegetable products as "an earthly paradise." Thus refreshed, he proceeded on his way, and after long contending with unfavourable winds, entered the Red Sea, and came to Aden. The governor received him with all possible honour, and on returning to the ship, he sailed for Mocha, the great mart of Arabia. Having come down the gulf, they touched at Socotora; here a violent gale arose, in which they lost two of their anchors, and, from previous losses, had now only two remaining. Sailing across the Indian Ocean they steered for Surat. They were warned that the passage was dangerous; but, disregarding the caution, they went on. That night they struck on the shoals, and next day the vessel was utterly wrecked. The crew, however, providentially escaped by two boats, and ultimately they returned home.

A new squadron was subsequently fitted out—the *Trades-Increase*, 1,000 tons, under Sir Henry Middleton; the *Peppercorn*, of 250 tons, and the *Darling*, of 90 tons, under Captain Downton. Sir Henry touched at the island of Socotora, where he was well received by the king; he then steered for Aden. He passed the straits of Babel Mandeb, and was run aground by an unskilful pilot on a sand-bank, near Mocha. Here, too, Aga paid him, for a time, great attention; but at length treachery appeared: Sir Henry was struck from behind,



and fell down senseless; then securely pinioned; and, as soon as he showed any symptoms of life, a Turk took him by each arm, and led him to the Aga, rifling him by the way of all the jewels about his person. At the Aga's he found others of his company "in like keeping," and was dismayed to learn that eight had been killed and fourteen severely wounded. Sir Henry, with seven others, were chained together by the neck, their feet were also chained, and their hands fastened so close behind their backs, that the blood was ready to burst out at the ends of their fingers. At night the guards, however, took compassion upon them, and afforded them some relief.

In the mean time, as they afterwards heard, a band of Turks was sent to capture the Darling; and so sudden was the attack that three men were killed before the alarm was given. But now the crew threw among them a cask of lighted gunpowder, and their assailants leaped into the sea, hanging by the ship's side and imploring mercy; this was denied them, and all, with the exception of one man who hid himself, were put to the sword. The Aga, exasperated by this catastrophe, sent for Sir Henry, and declared that the order from the Grand Seignior was imperative, to capture all Christians who should come into those seas, much more to Mocha, "the door of their holy city." He therefore desired that the two ships should be brought on shore; and Sir Henry was then promised the small one, to convey home himself and his crew. On Sir Henry absolutely refusing to do so, he was treated with the greatest cruelty. Downton was also subjected to extreme rigour.

Sir Henry now laid a plan for escape, by being put into an empty barrel, which was forthwith carried to sea, and in which he reached the vessel. The same day, two Arabs arrived in a boat, with the tidings that the Aga was in the greatest rage; that he had caused all the prisoners to be chained by the neck, and was threatening their lives. Sir Henry immediately wrote, that either the Aga must give up his men and the vessel, or he would fire all the ships in the road, and do his best to batter the town about his ears. A long controversy followed, which ended in some money being paid Sir Henry for the wrongs he had experienced. Middleton subsequently sailed to Dabul, on the coast of Guzerat, where he found a little, but not sufficient, trade. He then steered for the Red Sea, and afterwards set sail for Sumatra. Downton, his companion in bonds, appears to have been with him through a part of his career.

We pause not to track the course of other English voyagers; it must now suffice to observe that the glow of romantic interest which was at first thrown over India was subsequently heightened, if possible, by the vivid representations of its various visitants. Most dazzling, for example, according to them, was the splendour of the court of the Great Mogul. The English Ambassador, Sir T. Roe, represents him, on his birth-day, as "sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; before him a table of burnished gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some large and extremely rich; his sword and buckler entirely arrayed with diamonds and rubies, and his belt of gold suitably adorned; his rich turban decorated with lofty heron's

feathers; on one side, was set a ruby pendant, as big as a walnut; on the other, a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald still larger, in the form of a heart; his staff wound about with a chain of great pearls, rubies, and diamonds circled; round his neck a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, suspended; his arms and wrists glittering with diamond bracelets, and on each finger a ring of inestimable value."

Objects greatly exciting are thus exhibited by Tavernier:—"The Great Mogul has seven thrones, some set all over with diamonds; others with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. But the largest or peacock throne is set up in the hall of the first court of the palace. It is, in form, like one of our field beds, six feet long, and four broad. I counted about a hundred and eight pale rubies in callets about that throne, the least whereof weighed a hundred carats; but there are some that weighed two hundred. Emeralds I counted about a hundred and forty, that weighed some three score, some thirty carats. The under part of the canopy is all embroidered with pearls and diamonds, with a fringe of pearls round about. Upon the top of the canopy, which is made like an arch, with four panes, stands a peacock with his tail spread, consisting entirely of sapphires and other proper-coloured stones; the body is of beaten gold, enchased with several jewels; and a great ruby adorns his breast, to which hangs a pearl which weighs fifty carats. On each side of the peacock stand two nosegays as high as the bird, consisting of various sorts of flowers, all of beaten gold enameled. When the king seats himself upon the throne, there is a transparent jewel, with a diamond appendant, of eighty or ninety carats weight, encompassed with rubies and emeralds, so hung that it is always in his eye. The twelve pillars also that uphold the canopy are set with rows of fair pearls round, and of an excellent water, that weigh from six to ten carats apiece. At the distance of four feet on each side of the throne are placed umbrellas, the handles of which are about eight feet high, covered with diamonds—the umbrellas themselves being of crimson velvet, embroidered and fringed with pearl. This is the famous throne which Timur began and Shah Jéhan finished, and is really reported to have cost 160,000,000 and 500,000 livres of our money. Besides the stately and magnificent throne, there is another of an oval form, seven feet long, and five broad. The outside of it shines all over with diamonds and pearls, but there is no canopy over it. The five other thrones are erected in a magnificent hall, in a different court, entirely covered with diamonds, without any coloured stone."

No less magnificent was the Great Mogul described to be when he rode forth to take the field: it was amidst a thousand elephants, not only richly caparisoned with gilded trappings, but having their heads splendidly adorned with precious jewels. When his encampment was spread over the plains, the royal tents, and those of the great nobles, assuming every conceivable form of elegance and beauty, shone resplendent with the most varied and brilliant colours. "It was," says Sir. T. Roe, "one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever beheld."

It cannot excite surprise that such glowing accounts as these

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heightened and perpetuated the romantic interest, long cherished, in reference to India. The cupidity and avarice of the European world was speedily inflamed. The Dutch, on the decline of the Portuguese, carried on an extensive trade. In later times Great Britain and France appeared on the field as competitors for the prize of Indian commerce and dominion, and were allowed to establish factories on the coast, for the reception and the store of goods. These were gradually converted into military posts, defended by soldiers and cannon, and in the course of time these two powers were ranged, on opposite sides, in all the wars and politics of India. This contest terminated in the triumph of the British arms. France lost her pre-eminence on the continent of India, and her great rival, enlarging her power on every side, gradually rose to greatness and dominion, and now rules with undisputed sway from the Himalaya Mountains to Cape Comorin.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

We have now to go backward in point of time, in order to trace the movements, incalculably important in their results, of Christopher Columbus. About the year 1473 he was captain of a ship of war, in the service of the King of Naples, and afterwards made several voyages in the Mediterranean, to the east and west of Genoa. Subsequently to this he went to Lisbon, at a time when Portugal was famous for her discoveries, and a great number of Italians, especially Genoese, resorted thither. The knowledge and maritime ardour of the people, as we have already seen, tended greatly to the advancement of geographical science.

Entering fully into the spirit of the progress thus secured, Columbus "navigated," he says, "one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is 73 degrees distance from the equator, and not 63, as some pretend; neither is it situated within the line which includes the West of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly." It is generally supposed that the island he thus visited was Iceland. He then undertook a voyage to England, to Guinea, and to the islands in the Western Ocean, belonging to Spain and Portugal. He also compared what he observed with what had already been recorded, constructed globes, and drew maps, with the greatest care, thus greatly increasing in accurate knowledge and sound experience.

On his marriage to a lady of good family at Lisbon, the newly-wedded pair went to live with the mother of the bride, who gave him the journals and sea-charts used by her late husband, Bartholomew Perestrello, who had been sedulously engaged, as has been shown, in maritime discovery. Columbus thus ascertained the course taken by the Portuguese in the discoveries they had made, which added fuel to the flame of his enterprise. He is said now to have made a voyage to Madeira, and to have traded for several years with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and various other places discovered by the Portuguese on the continent of Africa.



With him, however, increased ability was only valued as the means of attaining higher objects; and he gradually formed the purpose of improving the plans already laid down, and of succeeding in enterprises which had hitherto been attempted in vain.

At the close of the fifteenth century the existence of land beyond the Atlantic had become matter of common speculation. A singular proof of this appears in a passage of the Florentine poet, Pulce, who, though a man of letters, was not distinguished for scientific attainments beyond his day. It is remarkable not only for the knowledge it implies of the figure of the earth, but for its anticipation of facts in physical science not established till more than a century later. Alluding to the vulgar superstition that the Pillars of Hercules were the boundaries of the world, one speaker thus addresses his companion:—

“ Know that this theory is false; his bark  
The daring mariner shall urge far o’er  
The western wave, a smooth and level plain,  
Albeit the earth is fashioned like a wheel  
Man was, in ancient days, of grosser mould;  
And Hercules might blush to learn how far  
Beyond the limits he had vainly set,  
The dullest sea-boat soon shall wing her way!  
Men shall desery another hemisphere,  
Since to one common centre all things tend,  
So earth, by curious mystery divine,  
Well balanced, hangs amid the starry spheres.  
At our antipodes are cities, states,  
And thronged empires, ne’er divined of yore.  
But see, the sun speeds on his western path,  
To glad the nations with expected light!”

One of the traditions that prevailed at that period was, that at a time indefinitely remote there existed a vast insular territory, extending beyond the coasts of Europe and Africa, and that this land was called Atalantis. In the fourteenth century maps were drawn representing this strange country, which having been shaken for three days successively to its foundation by an earthquake, at length yielded to the mysterious power of the Deity, and sank with its inhabitants into the depths of the ocean. It was given out that the inhabitants of Madeira, and the other western isles, saw at certain times, and in very clear weather, land appearing in their western horizon, and always in the same direction. This land was called St. Brandon’s land; he being a Scottish saint, had in repute among the Northmen, who first sailed into these parts in the sixth century, and who first raised belief in the existence of western lands, which belief they themselves first entertained.

In a map published by Martin Behim, we find the island of Antilla, or the Seven Cities, lying out a little more westward than the Azores. These cities are said to have been built and occupied by the Christians who fled from Spain when that country was occupied by the Moors. Northward of these cities the map placed the island of the Devil’s Hand, which seems to have been so called chiefly in accordance with an Arabian tale, which relates that in the Indian seas there is an island near which a great hand rises every night from the water, and grasping the inhabitants, plunges them into the ocean.

It appears also, that the inhabitants of some of the islands west of Africa had picked up, every now and then, pieces of artificially-carved wood, which could not have been cut with a knife, and which must have been brought thither by strong westerly winds. Other persons, navigating in those seas, had taken up canes of an extraordinary size, described by Ptolemy as peculiar to India; trunks of large pine trees, which had been torn up by the roots; and plants, such as had not been seen in the Old World. Some bodies of men were once found on the shores of Flores, one of the Azores, having been cast there by the waves. These bodies had features and complexions differing essentially from those of the inhabitants of Africa or of Europe, or from anything hitherto seen; and were, in consequence, always adjudged to have been wafted over from the west.

Columbus concluded, therefore, from all the information he could collect, that the shortest and most direct course to the regions of the East, would be to sail due west. He became impatient to set out on a voyage of discovery; but in vain did he lay his plans before the Senate of Genoa and the Court of Portugal. He now despatched his brother Bartholomew, to negotiate with Henry VII. of England, who was considered one of the wisest and richest princes in Europe, while he resolved to propose his plan, in person, to Ferdinand and Isabella, who governed, at that time, the united kingdoms of Aragon and Castile.

At this period the circumstances of Columbus were exceedingly depressed. In Andalusia there is a little seaport called Palos, and, at a short distance from the town, there stood then, as there does now, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars. Here, accompanied by his son, Diego, he stopped at the gate, and asked a little bread and water for his child. The favour was granted, and Juan Perez, the prior, or chief, of the convent, became deeply interested in the story of the stranger, afforded him the only encouragement he had, and gave him a letter to Ferdinand de Talavera, the confessor of Isabella. But, when he arrived at Cordova, the court resembled a military camp. Ferdinand and Isabella were alike absorbed in warlike measures, and Talavera was not only engaged in them, but hostile to the cause of Columbus.

Columbus continued at Cordova during the absence of the sovereign, supporting himself, it is said, by designing maps and charts. For about six years from his arrival in Spain, he kept his great object in view; and, amidst the ridicule with which he was often assailed, gradually gained friends. One of these, at length, on the fall of Granada taking place, urged his plans most attentively on the attention of the Queen; and Isabella was moved by his hearty eloquence. Refusing to listen to cold and timid counsellors, she said "I will assume the undertaking for my own crown of Castile, and am ready to pawn my jewels, to defray the expenses of it, if the funds in the treasury shall be found inadequate."

Not so, however, was it with Ferdinand; he opposed the plans which Isabella sanctioned, and, on 17,000 florins being advanced from his treasury towards their accomplishment, he took care to be indemnified for that amount. But little further delay occurred. On

the 17th of April, 1492, a treaty was signed by the sovereigns and Columbus to the following effect:—1. Spain, as mistress of the ocean, granted to Columbus the dignity of her high admiral in all the seas he might discover, with the same power and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile within his jurisdiction, reserving the office also to his heirs for ever. 2. Columbus and his family were in like manner to enjoy the title of viceroy of Spain in all islands and continents he should now first explore; and should separate governors be required for particular districts, he was to choose three candidates, out of whom the Spanish court was to select one to the office. 3. The tenth of all customs and profits whatsoever accruing from the new discoveries was to be secured to the high admiral. 4. He was to be the highest legal appeal in all suits respecting any commercial transactions in the countries discovered. 5. The admiral was to advance one-eighth part of the first expenses of the voyage and of opening the commerce with the new countries, which he was to be repaid out of the first profits that might accrue from them.

The advantages afforded by this treaty to Columbus are all to be ascribed to the intelligence and energy of Isabella, without whose strenuous support nothing would have been accomplished. She even added to them a special favour, appointing, by a letter patent, his son Diego page to Prince Juan, the heir-apparent—an honour only bestowed on the sons of persons of distinguished rank—and also granting an allowance for his support. The feelings of Columbus at this period cannot be described. His plans were now about to be tried, which he had steadily and earnestly contemplated during eighteen years chiefly passed in poverty and neglect, amidst bitter ridicule and hopeless appeals.

The stranger who had appeared with his son at the gate of the convent, to solicit the humblest fare, now proceeded to the neighbouring town of Palos with a bounding heart. There the ships were fitted out of which he had been appointed by Isabella to take the command. Again Juan Perez showed his kindness, for by his own influence and efforts, he raised, among the inhabitants of Palos, the money Columbus was to advance, and engaged some of them as companions in the voyage. The chief of these were three brothers, named Pinzon, of great experience in navigation, and of considerable wealth, who were willing to venture their lives and fortunes in the contemplated expedition. The path of the adventurers was, however, beset by difficulties, and their project had filled the inhabitants of Palos with horror.

The armament itself was inconsiderable. It consisted of only three vessels, the largest of no great burden; the other two were caravels, or light vessels without decks, scarcely superior to large boats. They were victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, chiefly sailors, together with a few adventurers, and some gentlemen of the court, appointed by Isabella to accompany Columbus.

Columbus hoisted his flag on board of the largest ship, the Santa Maria; the second, called the Pinta, was commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as



pilot; the third, called the Nina, was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Janez Pinzon. A little before sunrise, on the appointed day, the squadron set sail, but the circumstances of its departure were melancholy. The little town of Palos was filled with gloom, for most of the inhabitants had some relative or friend on board; and in the vessels many deeply sympathized with the sorrows and fears of those they had left behind, while they could not but entertain apprehension in voyaging they knew not whither. The day after, the rudder of one of the smaller vessels broke loose—a sure omen of failure and calamity to a superstitious crew. They arrived, however, at the Canary Islands, for which their commander had directly steered, without injury, but with, unhappily, sufficient proof that their vessels were ill-fitted for a long and perilous voyage. But at these islands they were repaired as far as practicable, and then proceeded on their way.

On setting out, Columbus seems to have proposed to himself the exceeding probability of reaching the kingdoms of Cathay and Cipanga, which formed, according to the notions of the day, part of the great continent of India on the Asiatic coast, and were distant, he supposed, about one-third of the circumference of the earth. He thus set out under the influence of two formidable errors; thinking, first, that Asia extended so much more to the east than it really does; and, secondly, that the earth is much smaller than it has since proved to be. The empire of Cathay, just referred to, appears to have been China, which had been long described as being extensive, opulent, and populous. It was said that the inhabitants had a very exalted opinion of themselves, which they showed by saying that they alone, of all the people of the world, had *two* eyes. The Latins, they said, had *one*, but all the other nations were blind.

On again losing sight of land, many of the sailors became exceedingly dejected and dismayed, shedding tears, and beating on their breasts, as if to perish were inevitable. Columbus promptly endeavoured to soothe them by the prospect of great wealth in the regions to which they were proceeding. He anticipated other difficulties by a different expedient. Supposing that they would be alarmed by the length of the voyage, he told them that they had advanced only fifteen leagues when they had actually proceeded twenty. In like manner, when they felt apprehension on observing that the magnetic needle of the compass varied towards the west, he declared that it did not point to the polar star, but to an invisible object. Such assertions are, however, indefensible. If deception in one instance were allowable, why not in five, or ten, or twenty? and if these might be excused, where shall the limit be set to prevent universal duplicity? The only security against boundless falsehood is, therefore, the inviolable maintenance of truth.

As the flight of birds, suggesting the proximity of land, awakened hopes only to be disappointed, the people became hostile to Columbus, who, they said, was desirous to make himself great at the expense of their danger. They represented that they had already sufficiently performed their duty in adventuring further from land and all hope of succour than had ever been done before, and that they ought not

to proceed on the voyage to their manifest destruction. If they did, they would soon have reason to repent their temerity, as provisions would soon fall short, the ships were already faulty, and would soon fail, and it would be extremely difficult to get back as far as they had already gone. None, in their own opinion, could condemn them for now turning back, but all must consider them as brave men for adventuring so far on such an enterprize. That the admiral was a foreigner who had no favour at court, and as so many wise and learned men had condemned his opinions and project as visionary and impracticable, there would be none to favour or defend him; and they were sure to find more credit if they accused him of ignorance and mismanagement than he would do, whatsoever he might now say for himself against them. Some even proceeded so far as to propose, in case Columbus should not coincide with their views of returning, to make a short end of all disputes by throwing him overboard, after which they could assert that he had fallen over while making his observations, and no one would ever think of inquiring into the truth of what they asserted.

Columbus, aware of their discontent, exerted himself to the utmost to quiet their apprehensions and to suppress their evil designs; sometimes using fair words, and at others reminding them of the punishment they would incur if they obstructed the voyage. To inspire them with hope he recapitulated all the favourable signs that had lately appeared, assuring them that they might soon expect to see land. It suddenly seemed, too, that their wishes were realized. As Columbus was conversing with Pinzon, whose ship was then very near, the latter hastily cried out, "Land! land, Sir! Let not my good news miscarry," pointing, as he spoke, to a large mass on the south and west, about twenty-five leagues distant, which appeared like an island. Columbus was by no means satisfied with Pinzon's observation; but, to gratify the men, who were delighted with the prospect, he altered his course, and stood in that direction a great part of the night. But, on the following morning, they had the mortification to find the supposed land was composed only of clouds; and, to their extreme dissatisfaction, the stems of the vessels were again turned directly westward. Continuing their course, they saw land birds, as they had done before.

It would have been impossible for Columbus to withstand the opposition that now arose; but such manifest tokens of land being near soon appeared, that the men took courage, and were as much rejoiced at their prospects as they had been before depressed. From the admiral's ship a green rush was seen to float past, and also one of those fish which never go far from the rocks. The people in the Pinta saw a cone and a staff in the water, and took up another staff very curiously carved, and a small board, while an abundance of weeds were seen, which seemed to have been recently torn from the rocks. Those of the Nina also saw, besides similar signs of land, a fresh branch of a thorn filled with red berries. The admiral, convinced that they were now approaching land, addressed the people, beseeching them to be exceedingly watchful during the night; and besides the gratuity of thirty crowns for life which had been graciously



promised by the sovereigns to him who should first see land, he engaged to give the discoverer a velvet doublet.

As the admiral after this was in his cabin at night, he saw a light on shore, but it was so unsteady that he could not certainly affirm it came from land. Others were called, but they could not perceive it. But now on their guard, they still continued their course, and about two in the morning the Pinta, which was always far ahead, owing to her superior sailing, made the signal of seeing land, which was first discovered by Roderick de Triana, at about two leagues from the ship. All the ships now lay-to, every one thinking it long till daylight, when the sight would be enjoyed which they had long and ardently desired.

When daylight appeared, the newly-discovered land was found to consist of a flat island, fifteen leagues in length, without any hills, all covered with trees, and having in the middle a great lake. Crowds of the inhabitants hurried to the shore, filled with wonder and admiration on beholding the ships, which they conceived to be some unknown animals. Not less anxious were the mariners to know what kind of people they had met with; and the curiosity on both sides was soon satisfied, as the ships immediately came to anchor. The admiral went on shore with his boat well armed, and having the royal standard of Castile and Leon displayed, accompanied by the commanders of the two other vessels, each in his own boat, carrying the colours that had been specially given to the enterprize, which were white with a green cross, and the letter F on one side, and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabella, surmounted by a crown.

The whole company kneeled on the shore, kissed the ground for joy, returning thanks to God for the great mercy they had experienced during their long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed, and their new, happy discovery of an unknown land. Columbus then stood up, and, in the usual words, took formal possession of the island, which he named St. Salvador, for his sovereigns. All his people admitted him to the dignity and authority of admiral and viceroy, according to the commission to that effect which he had received; and all made oath to obey him as the legitimate representative of their sovereigns, giving utterance to many expressions of joy, and imploring his forgiveness for all the offences with which they had been chargeable. Numbers of the natives were present at these acknowledgments, and as Columbus observed that they were a simple, quiet people, he gave some red caps, and others strings of glass beads, and various other things of small value, but which the natives considered of great worth.

The admiral now went off to his boat, and the natives followed him to the ships, some by swimming, and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, clews of spun cotton-yarn, javelins, and other trifling articles, with which to barter for glass beads, bells, and other articles of little value. Most of them were young, of a good stature, with very thick black hair, generally cut short above their ears, though some had it tied up with a string about their head, like women's tresses. Their countenances were mild and agreeable, their features good, and their complexion olive. Some were painted with black, others with



white, and others again with red. They had no knowledge of European weapons, for when shown a naked sword, they ignorantly grasped it by the edge. Nor were they acquainted with iron, for their javelins were constructed merely of wood, and their points armed with a piece of fishbone. Some of them had scars of wounds in different parts, and when asked by signs how they had been received, replied, by the same means, that people from other islands came to take them away, and that they had been wounded in self-defence. At night they all returned to the shore.

On the following morning many of the natives returned to the ships in their canoes, which were all in one piece, being formed of the trunk of a tree; some of them being as large as to contain forty or forty-five men, while others were so small as only to hold one person, with many intermediate sizes between these extremes. On being questioned where they procured the small plates of gold which hung from their nostrils, they answered by signs, that they had it from the south, where was a king who possessed abundance of pieces and vessels of gold; and they intimated that there were many other islands, and extensive countries to the south and the south-west. They were very anxious to possess anything that belonged to their visitors, and if they could lay hold of what struck them, though even a broken article of earthenware, they leaped with it into the sea, and swam on shore with their prize. They would also readily barter, though it were for a piece of broken glass; some gave sixteen large clews of well-spun cotton yarn, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin, not worth a farthing. In their simplicity and ignorance they supposed the mariners had come down from heaven, and they therefore desired to possess something as a memorial.

Sailing in his boats along the coast of the island of St. Salvador, towards the north-west, to examine its nature and extent, Columbus discovered a bay sufficiently capacious to contain all the vessels in Christendom. As he proceeded, the people ran after him on shore, inviting him to land, with offers of provision, and lifting up their hands to heaven, as if giving thanks for his arrival. To many of those who approached by swimming, or in their canoes, the admiral made trifling presents, and came, at length, to a peninsula, having a fine harbour; he there saw six of the native houses, having gardens about them, as pleasant as those of Castile, in the month of May, though it was now the month of October. But the people being fatigued with rowing, and finding no land so inviting as to induce him to make any longer stay, Columbus returned to his ship, taking with him seven of the natives to serve as interpreters, and made sail for certain other islands which he had seen from the peninsula, and appeared to be green and full of inhabitants.

The island, first discovered by the Spaniards, was one of the Bahamas, which form a very extended and numerous group, which is successively parallel to Florida, then to Cuba, and part of St. Domingo. No fewer than 500 have been counted in this group, but many of them are mere rocks or islets. The first part of the new world thus made known is called the Great Bahama, which is

situated above 3,000 miles to the west of Gomera, from whence the expedition took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it; so little had Columbus deviated from the track he had deliberately and wisely chosen to pursue.

Leaving St. Salvador, he reached an island about six leagues distant, to which he gave the name of St. Mary of the Conception. Here the people flocked to see the adventurers, and expressed, like their neighbours, their wonder and admiration. He now proceeded to another island, which had a fine beach of easy access, and called it Ferdinanda. While sailing between the two islands they found a man paddling along in a small canoe, who had with him a piece of their bread, a calabash full of water, and, among other things, a little basket containing a string of green glass beads, and two small Portuguese coins. It was, therefore, concluded that he had come from St. Salvador, and was hastening to Ferdinanda, to bear the tidings of their coming. But, as the way was long and he was weary, he came to the ships, and, with his canoe, was taken on board and courteously treated by the admiral, who sent him on shore, as soon as it was reached, that he might spread the news.

The people of Ferdinanda, encouraged by his favourable account, went on board the vessel, to effect such exchanges as had taken place at the island previously visited; and when the boats went on shore for water, the natives readily showed where it was to be got, and carried the small casks on their shoulders to fill the hogsheads of the mariners. They seemed to be a discreeter people than those already seen, dexterously bargaining for what they exchanged. Among other things worthy of remark in this island, certain trees had the appearance of being ingrafted, as, though quite natural, they had leaves and branches of four or five different sorts. Columbus sailed along the coast of this island to the north-west, and anchored at the mouth of a beautiful harbour, at the entrance of which a small island prevented the access of ships. In that neighbourhood, twelve or fifteen tent-like houses appeared built together, but having no other moveables or ornaments than the articles already mentioned as offered in barter.

Resuming his research, another island was speedily found, which he called Isabella, in honour of his royal patron; and the next island he discovered, called Cuba, by the natives, he named Joanna, out of respect to prince John, the heir of Castile. Ferdinanda, however, exceeded the others in extent and beauty, abounding more in pleasant meadows, delicious waters, and beautiful trees. It had also some hills, not to be observed in other islands, and was, on many accounts, exceedingly attractive.

Columbus determined, instead of further examining the islands of this group, which he understood strongly resembled one another, to proceed to Cuba, which was greatly lauded by the natives. At first sight this island appeared to be richer than those already visited, from the great extent of its coasts, the size of its rivers, the beauty and variety of its hills and mountains, and its wide-spreading plains, all clothed with an amazing variety of trees, all covered with fruit and blossoms. There was also an abundance of tall grass, besides a great diversity of herbs, mostly differing from those of Europe,



while the woods were thronged with birds of various plumage. On going to two houses at a short distance, it was found the inhabitants had fled, leaving their nets and other fishing-tackle, together with a dog that did not bark. As the admiral had given orders that nothing should be carried away, the people soon returned to their ships.

As he was disappointed, from the fears of the natives, in learning what he wanted respecting the nature and productions of the island, and the manners of the people, and considering that their terror would be increased were he to land a great number of men, he sent two Spaniards into the interior, accompanied by one of the natives of St. Salvador, whom he had brought with him from that island, and a native of Cuba, who had ventured aboard in his canoe. He directed these men to travel up into the country, and to conciliate all with whom they met; and, that no time might be lost, he ordered the ships to be laid on shore and repaired.

The two Spaniards returned, accompanied by two of the natives of Cuba, and reported that they had travelled twelve leagues up the country, where they came to a town of fifty houses of considerable size, and constructed of timber, in a round form, and thatched with straw. They supposed that the place might contain about 1,000 inhabitants. The principal people came out to meet them, conducted them to the town, and gave them one of the large houses to lodge in during their stay. They were then seated on wooden stools, made of one piece, in very strange shapes, bearing a rude resemblance to some animal, the tail being lifted up and as broad as the seat for the convenience of leaning against, and the front carved into the resemblance of a head. The natives sat about them on the ground, and came one by one to kiss their hands, with great respect, believing they had come from Heaven. They were also presented with some boiled roots, and as the two Indians who accompanied the strangers gave them an excellent character, they were entreated to remain for several days. Soon afterwards the men went out from the house, and many women came to see them, who all respectfully kissed their hands and feet, and offered them presents of various articles.

Columbus now understood, from the signs of the people, that there was a country to the eastward, where gold was collected along the river banks. He therefore turned eastward, and, passing a great cape to which he gave the name of Cape Cuba, stood out to sea, in the direction pointed out by the Indians. After contending with the wind, which came directly a-head, and that unsuccessfully, he returned to Cuba. Here he experienced great anxiety; for Martin Alonzo Pinzon, incited by the desire of gold, which he heard was to be had in the island of Bohio, took advantage of the superior sailing of his vessel, and was soon out of sight.

In this act there was but the outburst of feeling which had long been cherished. Martin Alonzo was a veteran, and very able navigator; he had provided two of the ships, and a considerable part of the funds, for the expedition; he thought himself entitled to share the command, and he had shown some impatience at the domination of Columbus. To the admiral, his conduct was exceedingly annoying; he knew not whether Martin Alonzo had determined on an



independent course, or if he would hasten back to Spain, and demand the honour of discovery which he had not gained.

As he ran several leagues further to the east, he became increasingly delighted with the country. He thus describes his feelings to Ferdinand and Isabella :—" When I went, with the boats before me, to the mouth of the harbour towards the south, I found a river, up the mouth of which I could row a galley easily ; and it was so land-locked that its entrance could not be discovered unless when close at hand. The beauty of this river induced me to go up a short distance, where I found from five to eight fathoms water. Coming to anchor, I proceeded a considerable way up the river with the boats, and such was the delightfulness of the place that I could have been tempted to remain there for ever. The water was so clear that we could see the sand at the bottom. The finest and tallest palm trees I had ever seen were in great abundance on either shore, with an infinite number of large verdant trees of other kinds. The soil seemed exceedingly fertile, being everywhere covered with the most luxuriant verdure ; and the woods abounded in vast varieties of birds of rich and variegated plumage. This country, most serene princes, is so wonderfully fine, and so far excels all others in beauty and delightfulness as the day exceeds the night ; wherefore I have often told my companions that, though I should exert my utmost endeavours to give your highness a perfect account of it, my tongue and pen must ever fall short of the truth. I was astonished at the sight of so much beauty, and knew not how to describe it. I have formerly written of other countries, describing their trees, and fruits, and plants, and harbours, and all belonging to them, as largely as I could, yet not so as I ought, as all our people affirmed that no others could possibly be more delightful ; but this so far excels every other which I have seen, that I am constrained to be silent, wishing that others may see it and give it its description ; that they may prove how little credit is to be got, more than I have done, in writing and speaking on this subject so far inferior to what it deserves."

As Columbus continued to explore the coast, he observed high mountains towering aloft to the south-east, and showing an island of considerable extent. It was Hayti, and, next to Cuba, the largest of the Greater Antilles. Its surface, as its name implies, is generally mountainous, its rocks rising from among rich forests. On the evening of the 6th of December, he entered a harbour at the western end of the island ; but, not being able to meet with any of the inhabitants, who had fled at his approach, he proceeded to the northward, where he found another port, which he named the Conception. Observing that the island was very large, that the land and trees resembled those of Spain, and that several fishes were caught like those of that country, the admiral gave it the name of Espaniola, or Little Spain, or, as it is called in English, Hispaniola.

Anxious to know the state of the island and the people, three of the Spaniards travelled up the country, and fell in with a considerable number of the natives, who immediately ran off into the woods. They succeeded, however, in overtaking one young woman, whom they brought to the admiral. He gave her some bells and glass beads,

and sent her on shore without sustaining any injury, accompanied by three of the Indians who had been brought from the other islands, and by three of the Spaniards. Next day he sent several men out to explore the country; they found a sort of town or village in a large valley, the inhabitants of which immediately fled; but one of the Indians of St. Salvador went after them, and assured them there was no cause for fear. The natives now treated them with all honour, and the people returned to Columbus with the most favourable tidings of the country and its inhabitants.

Still coasting the island, Columbus found the natives ready to exchange any ornaments of gold they had for any trifle brought from Europe, by which uncivilized people have at all times been easily deluded. At one of the harbours he was visited by a cacique, or chief of the country, who appeared in all the pomp he could command, being carried in a kind of palanquin, or litter, on the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who treated him with great respect. His deportment was very grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but extremely courteous towards Columbus and his companions. He presented the admiral with some thin plates of gold and a curiously-wrought girdle, and received a piece of cloth, several amber beads, and a flask of orange-flower-water, which was very acceptable. Columbus also showed the chief some Spanish coin, bearing the likenesses of Ferdinand and Isabella, and endeavoured to explain to him the power and grandeur of the Spanish sovereigns. As another means of impressing his guests, the royal banner and standard of the cross were brought forth, but, in their simplicity, they could not believe that such wonderful persons and things could belong to any part of the earth; it appeared to them that the country and its sovereigns, of which they were told, must be in the skies.

A few days after, on anchoring in another fine harbour, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, a large canoe visited the ships, with messengers from a grand cacique, named Guacanagari, who reigned over all the eastern part of the island. They brought as a present a broad belt, ingeniously wrought of coloured beads and bones, and some masks, having their eyes, ears, and noses made of gold. They invited Columbus to proceed with their ships to the village where the cacique resided, and, after being delayed by adverse winds, he determined on accepting the chief's proffered hospitality.

Sailing on a sea calm and smooth, and within a league and a half of the cacique's residence, the admiral, greatly wearied, returned at night to seek some rest. In direct violation of one of his orders, the steersman gave charge of the helm to one of the ship-boys, and was soon asleep, as were the rest of the crew, availing themselves of the admiral's absence. In the midst of their slumbers, the vessel ran violently on a sand-bank, and the boy at the helm shouted for help. Columbus was the first to afford it; the delinquents soon appeared; the danger was found to be imminent, and but for the calmness of the sea, the ship and crew must inevitably have perished. The admiral abandoned the wreck, and with his men, took refuge on



board the caravel of Vicente Janes Pinzon, sending messengers on shore to apprise the cacique of the catastrophe.

Guacanagari heard the sorrowful tale with tears, and immediately assembling his people, he sent off all his canoes to the aid of Columbus, with the assurance that all he possessed was at his service. The stores were landed from the wreck, and placed under a guard, until houses could be made ready to receive them. Tempting as they must have been to the natives, they maintained their integrity, and not the smallest trifle was lost. All seemed affected by the disaster of their visitors, and disposed to unite in administering consolation. In his journal for the perusal of the sovereigns, Columbus says: "These people love their neighbours as themselves; their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied by a smile. I swear to your majesties that there is not in the world a better nation or a better land."

On Guacanagari visiting the admiral, he expressed great sorrow at the calamity he had endured, and heartily promised him all in his power. In the meantime, a canoe came from a neighbouring island, bringing some plates of gold, to exchange for small bells, which the Indians greatly valued; while the Spaniards from the shore informed the admiral that many Indians resorted from other places to the town, who brought several articles more of gold, which they bartered for things of small value, and offered to bring much more gold if it were desired. The cacique, observing that the admiral was much gratified by this information, told him he would give orders for a great quantity of gold to be brought from a place called Cibaos, where it was to be had in great abundance.

The cacique complained to Columbus of a nation called the Caribs, who used often to carry away his people; and he was greatly rejoiced when the admiral showed him the superiority of the European weapons, and promised to defend him and his people against their enemies. The firing of cannon greatly astonished them, and at the report they fell on the ground, as if dead. As they saw the effect of a ball discharged from an arquebus against the trees, they were filled with dismay. But, as they thought that by such means they would be protected from the further violence of the Caribs, their fears were changed into exultation, and they considered themselves defended by the sons of heaven, who wielded thunder and lightning at pleasure. Columbus was also so much gratified with their kindness, that he proposed to establish a colony on the island, especially as some of his people voluntarily offered to remain and inhabit the place. For this reason he determined to build a fort, or block-house, from the timber of the ship which had been wrecked, all of which had been saved, and was now put to that use.

The admiral, being now ready to depart, commended to the attention of the cacique three of his people, to whom he left the government of the fort, with a garrison of thirty-six men, with provisions, arms, and cannon, the boat which had belonged to the lost ship, with carpenters, caulkers, a surgeon, and a gunner. All this being settled, he resolved to return with all speed to Castile, without attempting any further discoveries, fearing lest some misfortune should deprive



the sovereigns of the knowledge of the new kingdoms he had discovered for them.

While sailing eastwards with a contrary wind, a sailor from the round-top discovered the caravel Pinta coming down westward, right before the wind. As soon as it came up with the admiral, Martin Alonzo Pinzon came on board, and offered many excuses for leaving the squadron, alleging that he had done so against his will. Columbus was satisfied that it was far otherwise, but he concealed his displeasure and accepted the excuses, lest he might ruin the voyage, as most of the crew were Martin's countrymen, and several of them his relations. The fact is, that Martin Alonzo left the admiral with the design of sailing to Bohio, where he supposed that plenty of gold would be found; but not finding the object of his search, he had returned to Hispaniola, and had procured some gold in exchange for trifling articles, as had been done by the admiral. He distributed half of this gold among the crew, to gain them to his purposes, and concealed the rest for himself, pretending to Columbus that he had not any. He had also forcibly carried off four Indian men and two girls, whom he had intended to sell in Spain; but not long after, they arrived at the river where Pinzon had been trading, when the admiral obliged him, though very reluctant, to restore them to their homes; and they were therefore dismissed, well clothed, and with many presents.

A little beyond the headland now known as Cape Cabron, they cast anchor in a capacious bay. On landing, the natives appeared of a ferocious aspect, and a warlike character. They were hideously painted, decorated with the gaudy feathers of birds, and armed with various weapons. Their modes of speech accorded with their aspect and demeanour. Thinking that an Indian, who came on board, and was especially fierce, was one of the Caribs, and that the bay they were now in divided that race from the other inhabitants of Hispaniola, the admiral asked him where the Caribs dwelt; but, pointing with his finger, the Indian expressed by signs that they inhabited another island to the east. He was now regaled, presented with some glass beads, and slips of red and green cloth, and then sent on shore, with the charge that his companions would bring gold to barter, as had been done by the other Indians.

As the boats approached the land, upwards of fifty armed savages appeared lurking among the trees; but a sign from the Indian led them at once to lay down their arms, and to advance to meet the Spaniards. The latter tried to purchase some of their weapons, and obtained two bows; but a collision arose, two of the Indians were wounded, and the rest put to flight. The day following, a multitude appearing on the beach, Columbus sent a large and fully-armed party on shore, but the natives showed no signs either of fear or malice. On the contrary, the chief, who was among them, sent a string of shells, which the Spaniards understood was a token of peace, and entering the boat, with only three attendants, was conveyed to the vessel.

On again setting sail, the voyage was prosperous for nearly a month; but at length the wind began to rise, and increased from day to day, with a high sea, till they were again in the most imminent

peril. So tremendous was the storm, that they could no longer carry sail, and had to drive before the wind, while the Pinta was speedily out of sight. "In this perplexity," says Columbus, addressing the sovereigns, "I remembered your highnesses' good fortune; which, though I were dead and the ship lost, might yet find some means that a conquest so nearly achieved should not be lost, and that possibly the success of my voyage might come to your knowledge, by some means or other. With this view, as briefly as the time would permit, I wrote upon parchment that I had discovered the lands which I had promised; likewise how many days were employed on the voyage, the direction in which I had sailed, the goodness of the country, the nature of the inhabitants, and how some of your highnesses' subjects were left in possession of my discoveries. Which writing, I folded and sealed up, and superscribed to your highnesses, promising a reward of 1,000 ducats to whoever might deliver it sealed into your hands; that, in case it might be found by a foreigner, the promised reward might induce him not to communicate the intelligence. I then caused a great cask to be brought me, and having wrapped the writing in oiled cloth, which I surrounded with a cake of wax, I placed the whole in the cask. I then carefully closed up the bung-hole, and threw the cask into the sea, all the people fancying it was some act of devotion. Apprehending that this might never be taken up, and the ship coming still nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, which I placed on the poop, that when the ship sank the cask might float upon the water, and take its chance of being found."

Sailing on in such extreme danger, land was seen from the round-top; the pilot and seamen judged it might be the rock of Lisbon, but Columbus concluded it was one of the Azores. Yet, though at no great distance, they could not come to anchor there that day from the boisterousness of the weather; and soon losing sight of that island, they beheld another, which they struggled very hard to approach. After great difficulty they effected a landing, and found it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores. Three of the inhabitants came on board, with some fresh provisions, and with many compliments from the commander of the island, who lived at the house not far from thence.

In these compliments, however, there was bad faith. On these men going on shore with one-half of the crew, the governor and many people from the home, who live in ambush, suddenly rushed out upon them, and made them all prisoners, capturing also their boat, without which they believed it impossible for the admiral to get away from them. As his people did not return, the admiral began to suspect that some calamity had happened, and soon saw a multitude of people on horseback, who dismounted, and went into the boat to attack the caravel. He made no show of resistance that the Portuguese might come near; and on their approach, the chief man stood up and demanded a parley, to which the admiral agreed, in hope that he might come on board and be secured, as the Spaniards had been already. But the Portuguese would not venture nearer than was sufficient to be heard, on which Columbus proceeded to remonstrate on the ill-treatment of men who had gone on shore, not only on the assurance of safety and offers of assistance, but especially on the welcome of the



governor. He declared that he had letters of recommendation from Ferdinanda and Isabella to all princes and people, and that they ought to be specially regarded in the dominions of Portugal, their sovereigns being such near neighbours and allies. He exhibited his commissions, having its hands and seals of their highnesses, and told him he might draw near without apprehension, since he was required to pay the utmost attention to any Portuguese ships with which he might meet. He added, that if ever his men were detained, this should not prevent his return to Spain, as he had not only a sufficient number to reach Seville, but, if necessary, to punish the treachery which had been displayed, while he would be assuredly punished by his own king for giving a cause of war between Spain and Portugal.

The Portuguese captain and his men replied that they neither knew the sovereigns of whom he spake nor their letters. At last, when about to depart, the former said that the admiral might go with his caravel to the harbour, as all he had done was by the order of the king, his master. The design of that monarch was doubtless to possess himself of the person of Columbus, from jealousy lest there should be any interference with his own discoveries. It appears that he had actually sent orders to his commanders of islands and distant parts to seize and detain the admiral, wherever he might be found, and hence the outrage which had now been perpetrated.

It appears that the governor of St. Mary's, having failed to accomplish his purpose by violence, resorted to stratagem, in which he was equally far from success. A violent altercation now arose; but, after two or three days' imprisonment, the sailors who had been seized were released, and the governor, pretending that he was now satisfied of Columbus being engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, even offered his best services. But for these the admiral did not wait; he set sail without delay, and for two or three days had favourable weather; a squall rent all the sails of the caravel, and threatened immediate destruction. All the elements seemed combined against them; the sea was frightfully tumultuous, torrents of rain fell, the thunder pealed through the skies, and the lightning flashed with unusual vividness.

Amidst the darkness of the night, there was a cry of "Land!" but, welcome as it might have been, it now only increased the consternation, from the ignorance of the mariners of their real situation, and the dread of being driven on shore, or wrecked among the rocks. When the sun rose, they found themselves at the mouth of the Tagus, off the rock of Cintra. Though doubtful of the good-will of Portugal, their only course was to take shelter in the river, where accordingly they cast anchor. The inhabitants, who had been watching the vessel throughout the morning, now proceeded from various parts of the shore, to offer their congratulations on the signal deliverance which had been experienced. It was declared by the oldest mariners that they had never known so tempestuous a winter.

Columbus now despatched a courier, with tidings of his discovery to the King and Queen of Spain. He wrote also to the King of Portugal, soliciting permission to go to Lisbon. This was desirable, as



he was in considerable danger from its being rumoured abroad that his vessel was laden with gold. He described, at the same time, the course taken throughout his voyage, lest it should be imagined he had followed only in the track of the Portuguese discoveries.

A different account is given of these circumstances by Portuguese historians. Though Columbus was compelled to take shelter in the Tagus, one of them states that he entered Lisbon with a vain-glorious exultation, in order to make Portugal feel, by displaying the proofs of his discovery, how much she had erred in not acceding to his proposals. Another says that the king, being informed of his arrival, commanded him into his presence, and appeared to be annoyed that the discovery of Columbus had been made within the seas and boundaries of his seigniory of Guinea, which might give rise to disputes. He also describes the king as vexed by the exaggerations of his admiral, and as accusing himself of negligence in having declined the enterprise from a want of confidence in it, when his assistance was first besought. He then adds :—" And notwithstanding the king was importuned to kill him on the spot, since, with his death, the prosecution of the undertaking, so far as the sovereigns of Castile were concerned, would cease, from want of a suitable person to take charge of it ; and notwithstanding this might be done without suspicion of the king's being privy to it (for, inasmuch as the admiral was overbearing and puffed up by his success, they could easily bring it about that his own indiscretion should appear the cause of his death),—yet the king, as he was a power greatly fearing God, not only forbade this, but even showed the admiral much favour, and dismissed him."

On the contrary, it appeared that on the day after his arrival the King of Portugal gave orders to present the admiral with all kinds of refreshment, for which no return was to be received. At the same time he addressed to Columbus a congratulatory letter, and desired that a visit should be paid him at Valparaiso. There he was received with great honour ; and though the king thought that as Columbus had been a captain in the service of the crown of Portugal, the discovery and conquest of the newly-found Indies belonged to him, he expressed his belief that justice would be done between the two countries. After a long conversation, the king commended him to the hospitalities of the prior of Crato, the most distinguished person then present, and after a few days he left Valparaiso. While on his way to Lisbon, he had to pass a monastery where the queen then resided ; she earnestly entreated that he would not proceed without seeing her, and she received him with every mark of distinction.

Again setting sail soon after day-break, the admiral, on the 15th of March, 1493, came to an anchor in the port of Palos, after an absence of seven months and twelve days. He was received by the people with loud exultation. Almost every one of them was deeply interested in that expedition. In it were their friends, whose fate their imaginations had often pictured with all the exaggerations of which that power is capable. To see them—to embrace them again—was an event which they feared to anticipate, and which now they realized with emotions of intense delight. As the admiral passed along the

streets, he was hailed with acclamations, and to him royal honours were frequently tendered.

As the court was at Barcelona, he addressed a letter to the sovereigns, apprising them of his arrival. They were dazzled and astonished at the intelligence he conveyed, unfolding, as it did, the acquisition of territory and apparently of boundless wealth, and urged him immediately to repair to their presence. They ordered him to be received in the most distinguished manner, as one who had rendered them such signal service. All the court and the city went out to meet and welcome him, and to conduct him to the presence of the sovereigns. They sat publicly in great state, under a canopy of cloth of gold, to receive him, and when he advanced to kiss their hands, rose up, and then caused him to sit down with them. He now gave them a brief account of his voyage, and they conferred on him, whom they styled their admiral and viceroy, the highest favour and honour. What a contrast to the condition of the poor stranger at the gate of the monastery!

It was a singular coincidence, but Martin Alonzo Pinzon appears to have anchored at Palos on the evening of the same day that Columbus had arrived. He had made the port of Bayonne after being driven into the Bay of Biscay by the storm. As soon as the weather was again favourable he set sail, looking for a triumphant reception at Palos. But on entering the harbour, he saw the vessel of Columbus riding at anchor, and heard of the enthusiastic welcome with which he had been greeted. A sense of his misconduct in deserting the admiral at Cuba is said now to have greatly oppressed him; he landed privately in his boat, and when Columbus had departed to Barcelona he returned home, the victim of deep dejection. He had written to the sovereigns offering them the intelligence of the expedition, but their answer forbade his appearing at court, and visited his conduct with severe reproach. This shock proved fatal, virulent disease supervened, and in a few days he expired.

The mind of Columbus, delighted as it was with the triumph he had gained, was not absorbed in its own interests. Dazzled with the prospect of immense wealth, he did not contemplate a lavish expenditure on himself, but, filled with enthusiasm for the success of the crusaders of that period, designing to rescue Jerusalem, the holy city, from the hands of the Saracens, resolved to share their trials and their success. He made a vow to furnish, within seven years, an army of 4,000 horse and 50,000 foot, and within the five following years to send out a similar force. The fact deserves notice, as illustrative of the character of Columbus, who, unlike many, could rise, on certain occasions, beyond objects which are merely personal and mercenary.

The circumstances in which he was placed, gives special prominence to this superiority. He had, at all times, free access to the royal presence, and even appeared on horseback, riding on one side of the king, while Prince Juan rode on the other. A coat of arms was given him, in which he was permitted to quarter the royal arms—the castle and lion, with those especially assigned him—a group of

islands surrounded by waves, to which the motto was afterwards appended:—

To Castle and Leon  
Columbus gave a new world.

As he was the first who discovered a light on the shore, the promised reward of thirty crowns was assigned to him. The court emulated the sovereigns, and loaded him with plaudits. But at a banquet which was given him, a courtier, jealous of the honours awarded to him as a foreigner, asked him abruptly if he thought, had he failed in discovering the Indies, there were not men in Spain equal to the task? Instead of deigning a direct reply, Columbus took an egg, and invited the company to make it stand on one end; all tried, but in striking it upon the table, it stood firmly when broken, thus simply showing that when a thing is done, imitation is easy, a fact which may frequently be applied with advantage.

The discovery made by Columbus was the solution of a great problem, in which all were interested, but whose issues no one could anticipate. Various opinions were, however, formed as to the newly-discovered countries, and the division of the earth to which they belonged. Columbus considered, as he had done before, that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions of Asia to which had been assigned the general name of India. The productions of the country he had discovered confirmed this sentiment. In India, gold was known to abound, and the samples he had gathered from the islands he visited, led him to believe that rich mines of the precious metal might there be found. There, too, cotton, another production of India, was common; the pimento of the islands he supposed to be a species of Indian pepper; and he mistook a root resembling rhubarb for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be peculiar to India. The birds he had brought home were arrayed in the same rich plumage which adorned those of India: and the alligator of one country appeared the same as the crocodile of the other. On weighing these circumstances, the opinion of Columbus seems to have been adopted throughout Europe; the countries which he had discovered being regarded as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of Indies was given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in ratifying their former agreement; and though the error was afterwards detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name was continued, and the appellation of West Indies became familiar as it is to this day.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

ORDERS, ere long, were issued from Barcelona to prepare, with all expedition, for the admiral's return to Hispaniola, to relieve those who had been left there, and to carry forward other enterprizes. Their majesties obtained the sanction of the pope to the conquest of the Indies, which was readily granted by Alexander VI., and the bull to this effect included not only what was already discovered, but for all that might yet be found westwards, until the expedition should



arrive in the East, and forbade all persons to intrude within these bounds. Their majesties were also pleased to ratify and confirm all the prerogatives and privileges of Columbus which were granted before, so as explicitly to define the limits of his offices as admiral and viceroy.

Seventeen vessels, of various sizes, were soon got ready, well stored with provisions and all things considered necessary for the intended colonization. Artizans of various kinds, with labourers to till the ground, were engaged to accompany the expedition. The fame of the gold and other rarities of the newly-discovered region had also induced so many persons of respectability to offer themselves, that it became necessary to limit the numbers who should be permitted to embark. Yet so eager were adventurers to engage in the scheme, that 1,500 persons of all classes went in the expedition, of whom some carried out asses, horses, and others cattle, which were afterwards of most important benefit to the colony.

An hour before sunrise, on the 25th of September, 1493, the admiral weighed anchor at Cadiz, and stood to the southward for the Canary Islands. After sailing for a few weeks, he observed a great alteration in the appearance of the sky and in the winds, and concluding from these, and the prevalence of heavy rains, that he was certainly approaching land, he ordered most of the sails to be furled, and all the people to keep a strict look out. Next morning, just as day began to dawn, a high, mountainous island was discovered about seven leagues to the west, to which the admiral gave the name of Dominica; and subsequently another was found, which he called Marigalante. The day following he sailed past another large island, which he named St. Mary of Guadaloupe. Going on shore, his party only found some children in a kind of town, all the people having fled into the woods. To allure them on their return, they tied some baubles to the arms of the children.

In the houses they observed geese, like those of Spain, and abundance of parrots, with red, blue, green, and white feathers. They also found pumpkins and a sort of melon-like fruit, delicious both in taste and smell, with various kinds of fruits and herbs. In the houses were beds or hammocks made of cotton nets, with bows and arrows, and other articles.

Next day the admiral sent two boats on shore, hoping to procure some person who might be able to state some particulars respecting the country, and also in what direction Hispaniola lay. Each of the boats brought off a youth, who agreed in saying that they were not natives of that island, but of another, which they called Borriquer, now St. John, and that the inhabitants of Guadaloupe were Caribs, or cannibals, and had taken them prisoners from their native island. Soon after the boats returned on shore to bring off some Portuguese who had been left; and six women, who had fled to them from the Caribs, came with them willingly to the ships. Thinking to allure the Indians, the admiral sent the women back, reluctant as they were, giving them some glass beads and bells. As the Caribs immediately took these from the women, they got into the boats when they returned for wood and water, and requested to be carried back to the

ships, giving the seamen to understand, by signs, that the Caribs eat men and make slaves of women, and therefore they wished to depart. One of them said there were several islands to the south, some inhabited and others not. They stated that the continent was very large, and that the king of the island from which they fled was gone, with ten large canoes and 300 men, to make incursions into the neighbouring islands, to take prisoners to eat.

Weighing anchor soon after, the fleet came to an island, which the admiral named, from its height, Monserrat. Others were speedily observed, but the admiral resolved to hold on his course to Hispaniola, that he might carry relief to the persons he had left there. But the weather becoming bad, he was obliged to come to anchor at an island, where he gave orders to take some of the inhabitants, that he might learn whereabouts he then was. As the boat was returning to the fleet, with four women and three children, whom they had taken, it met a canoe, in which were four men and a woman, who, perceiving that they could not escape, stood on their defence, and hit two of the Spaniards with their arrows, which they discharged with such dexterity and force that the woman pierced a target quite through. The Spaniards attempted to board, the canoe was over-set, and the Indians were taken swimming in the water, one of whom shot several arrows, while swimming, as dexterously as if he had been on land. Continuing his voyage, the admiral fell in with a cluster of about fifty islands. He next came to the island called Borriquen by the Indians, but which he named John the Baptist. Here some of the Spaniards found certain houses, well-built after the Indian fashion, having a square before them, and a broad road down to the sea, with bowers on each side, made of canes, and curiously interwoven with evergreens. At the end of the road next the sea there was a raised stage or balcony, lofty and well-built, capable of containing ten or twelve men.

On reaching the north side of Hispaniola, the admiral immediately sent on shore one of the natives of the island, whom he had taken to Spain. Next day, coming to anchor near the town of the Nativity, a canoe with two men came to the fleet, and asked for the admiral; and, on his appearing, they presented him with two gold marks, and many compliments, from the cacique Guacanagari. Being asked concerning the Portuguese who were left at the Nativity, they answered, that some of them had died of distempers, and some had gone into other parts. The admiral supposed, from what they stated, that all, or most of the colonists were dead; but, without remarking on the subject to them, he dismissed them with some brass trinkets and other baubles for the cacique, and a few trifles for themselves.

On the fleet entering the harbour of the Nativity, the admiral found the whole town burned, and no person whatever could be seen. He therefore went up a river in the neighbourhood with several boats, having left orders to clean out the well which he had dug in the fort, and into which he had directed the colonists to throw any gold they might obtain; but nothing of the kind could be found. As the Indians fled from their houses into the woods at his approach, he returned to the site of the town, where eight of the Portuguese were

discovered, and three others in the fields, who were recognised by their apparel, and seemed to have been a month dead. While looking on this melancholy spectacle, a brother of the cacique came, accompanied by some Indians who could speak some words of Spanish, and knew the names of all the Spaniards who had been left behind. They said that, after the departure of the admiral, the colonists fell out among themselves, each of them taking as much gold and as many women as he could obtain; that, after one had been killed by another, he, with nine others and all the women, went away to the territories of a cacique who was lord of the mines, and by whom they had all been killed; that many days after, the cacique, named *Canabo*, with a great number of men, came to the Nativity, where only eleven men remained to guard the fort, and set fire to the houses where the Spaniards resided, all of whom fled; eight were drowned in the sea, and three were slain on shore: and further, that *Guacanagari*, in defending the Spaniards, had been wounded and fled.

On the following day the admiral went to the cacique, who, with many expressions of sorrow, related all that had happened, and that he and his men had been wounded in defending the Spaniards, with wooden swords and arrows pointed with fish-bones. At the close of the interview, the cacique presented to the admiral eight strings of small beads, made of white, green, and red stones, and three small calabashes full of gold dust, weighing about two pounds. The admiral offered in return an abundance of trinkets, which, though of little value, the cacique highly estimated. Although he was very ill, he insisted on going with the admiral to see the fleet, where he was courteously entertained. With the sight of the horses, of which he had heard, he was greatly delighted.

Among the women on board the ship, who had been captives of the Caribs, was one far surpassing the rest, and who, being greatly admired by the Spaniards, had received from them the name of *Catalina*. She was also repeatedly noticed by the cacique, who spoke to her with great blandness, dictated probably by adoration. At a collation which was prepared Columbus endeavoured to revive their former kind's intercourse, but there was no response on the part of *Guacanagari* who seemed to be ill at ease. The Spaniards were excited by his conduct to indulge suspicions of his guilt, and one of them advised Columbus to detain the cacique as his prisoner, but the admiral disdained to act on the crafty suggestion. The feelings in operation, so different from what he had formerly experienced, could not be concealed from *Guacanagari*, who, notwithstanding the warm cordiality of the admiral, soon withdrew and returned to the shore.

On the following day, the brother of the cacique came on board, ostensibly to barter a quantity of gold, but really, as it afterwards appeared, to bear a message to *Catalina*. The sequel is soon told. She awakened her companions at midnight, when the crew were asleep, and proposed that they should make a determined effort to obtain their freedom, as they were still, to a certain extent, captives on board the ship. The shore was full three miles distant, and the sea was rough; but, accustomed as they were to the waves, they felt no fear, and, letting themselves silently down from the side of the



vessel, struck out boldly for the shore. The movement was detected, an alarm was raised, and full chase was given them in the boats, which moved in the direction of a light kindled on the shore, doubtless to serve the fugitives as a signal. But they outstripped the boats, and it appeared that they would ultimately escape; but, on gaining the beach, four were captured. Catalina, with the rest of her companions, reached the forest in safety. On the same day, Guacanagari withdrew, with all his effects, into the interior of the island, accompanied, it was supposed, by Catalina.

Such is the tale usually told. It is insinuated, indeed, that the cacique acted with great perfidy, and that the destruction of the garrison was his work. We are disposed, however, to demur to its reception; and especially as the conduct thus attributed to Guacanagari is not only totally at variance with the course he previously pursued, but with what he afterwards took, and which can only be accounted for, we think, from a high regard for the person of Columbus.

Depressed by his suspicions, the admiral sailed with the whole fleet eastwards, and on the following day anchored at Monte Christo, one of seven low islands, which, though almost destitute of trees, were still extremely pleasant; for though it was winter, the Spaniards found a profusion of fine flowers and nests, some with eggs and others with young birds. Here, then, Columbus resolved to plant his colony, and landed all the men and provisions, the utensils and animals that had been brought in the fleet. The site he had chosen was a fine plain, near a rock, on which a fort might conveniently be built, and here he immediately began to build a town, which he named Isabella, in honour of the Queen of Castile. The port of this place was large and convenient, and at only a short distance was a river of most delicious water. And immediately beyond that river there stretched a vast and open plain, from the extremity of which the Indians said the gold mines of Cibao were not far remote.

He now dispatched Alonzo de Ojeda, with an escort of fifteen men, to explore the mines of Cibao. He afterwards sent twelve ships of his fleet back to Spain with tidings of what had occurred, and a statement of all that was necessary for the infant colony. It was not long before Ojeda returned, and reported that he had halted, on the second night of his journey, at the pass of a mountain of very difficult access. That at the distance of many leagues he had found Indian villages and caciques, who had treated him with great kindness, and that at the end of the sixth day's journey he came to the mines of Cibao, when the Indians immediately took up gold from the bed of a small river, as they had done in many other places of his route, where he affirmed that there was plenty of gold. In a few days the admiral set out for Cibao, taking all the people who, like himself, had been restored to health from severe sickness, leaving a guard in the two ships and three caravels that remained of the fleet, committing it to the care of his brother, Don Diego Columbus.

On reaching the mountain already described, the admiral passed over it along a path so narrow, steep, and winding, that the horses were led onwards with great difficulty. The party now entered the district of Cibao, which was rough and stony, yet plentifully covered

with grass. The Indians, knowing from Ojeda's visit that the Spaniards were in pursuit of the precious metal, met the admiral everywhere during his march, bringing small quantities of gold which they had collected, and presents of provisions. He now ordered a fort to be reared, gave the command of it to Don Pedro Margarite, with a garrison of fifty-six men. To the fort he gave the name of St. Thomas.

Still intent on further discoveries, Columbus again set sail; and, after visiting various places, and sending many of his people home, he drew near to Santa Cruz, in Cuba, where his vessel was placed in imminent danger, by a sudden and furious squall. The ship was laid on her broadside, and though, from lowering all the sails and dropping the anchors, she soon righted, yet she took in so much water at the deck that the people were not able to keep the hold clear. There was, at the same time, a great scarcity of provisions. Already they had been reduced to a pound of rotten biscuit daily, with half a pint of wine, except when they could catch fish, which the climate would not allow them to keep. Of these circumstances the admiral thus speaks in his journal addressed to his sovereigns:—"I am myself at the same allowance, and I pray to God that it may be for his honour and the service of your highnesses, for I shall never again expose myself to such sufferings and dangers for my own benefit; and there never passes a day but we are all on the brink of death."

In this state of distress and danger the admiral arrived at Capo Santa Cruz, where he was most generously regaled by the Indians. He then continued his voyage, coasting the Island of Jamaica, and at length returned to Hispaniola. Here he found his brother, Bartholomew, whom he had sent to treat with the King of England about the discovery of the Indies. On his return to Spain, with the grant of all his demands, he learned at Paris, from Charles, King of France, that his brother, the admiral, had already made a great discovery, and the king supplied him with a hundred crowns, to enable him to prosecute his journey into Spain. Finding, on his arrival at Seville, that his brother had set out on his second voyage, he proceeded to their majesties at Valladolid, and they immediately despatched him to Hispaniola.

Enfeebled by sickness, and oppressed with various anxieties, it was a great relief to Columbus again to look on his brother, who had many qualifications for rendering him the most essential service. Immediately he invested him with the title and authority of adelantado, resembling the power of a lieutenant-governor, and the necessity had become urgent for all his aid. Pedro Margarite had been charged to make a tour of the island, but, instead of doing so, he and his people, lingering in some of the villages, had greatly excited the wrath of the natives by their gross and violent conduct. On Don Diego Columbus remonstrating with him for these outrages, Margarite replied in the haughtiest terms, and in so doing was supported by a party vehemently opposed to Columbus and his family. Among these was friar Boyle, who had been appointed vicar-apostolic for the New World, and all who were disaffected to Columbus, or dissatisfied with their abode, soon formed a powerful clique. The friar acted as



if endowed with supreme authority, took possession of certain ships in the harbour, and, with some of his adherents, set sail for Spain. They thought their conduct might be easily justified to the sovereigns, and that the opportunity would be secured of disparaging, so far as possible, the proceedings of Columbus.

Meanwhile, the conduct of Margarite and his soldiers excited the greatest enmity in the bosoms of the natives. Wherever the Spaniards could be found singly or in small parties, they were put to death. One cacique slew no fewer than ten soldiers, set fire to a house in which were forty invalid Spaniards, and so besieged a small fortress that had been reared, that the commander had to shut himself up within its walls until relief should arrive.

The most deadly enemy of the Spaniards, however, was Cannabo. As he had looked on enraged at the erection of the fort of St. Thomas in the very heart of his dominions, and now saw that after the departure of Margarite only fifty men remained, he determined to strike a blow which he hoped would prove fatal. He gathered together no fewer than 10,000 armed warriors, and conducted them by a secret way through the forests, in order to surprise Ojeda, who had been left in charge of it. He laid siege to the fortress for thirty days, bringing upon it great distress; but he failed to effect his object, lost many of his men, and then withdrew. He now strove to combine the principal caciques of the island, in order to surprise the settlement of Isabella, and root out the Spaniards. Three, inspired by determined hatred of the colonists, joined the league, but Guacanagari declined doing so, entertained a number of Spaniards in his territory, and thus drew upon him the hostility of the other caciques. Behechio, the sovereign of the most extensive and populous domain, killed one of his wives, and Cannabo took another captive; but Guacanagari still adhered to the Spaniards, and prevented the conspiracy being carried out, because his own dominions were immediately in the neighbourhood of the settlement.

Guacanagari apprised Columbus fully of the designs of the caciques, and the cordial intercourse that had previously existed was entirely renewed. As there were strong reasons why he should not engage in open conflict, he determined to accomplish his object by different means. The fort Magdalena was beleaguered by Guatiguana, who had massacred many of the Spaniards; the admiral, therefore, sent a small force against him, he was summarily defeated, and his country laid waste. Cannabo still remained as a formidable foe; and while Columbus was greatly perplexed, as he saw the character and resources of his adversary in their true light, Ojeda made proposals to extricate him from his difficulty.

As these were acceded to, Ojeda, accompanied by ten men of a similarly daring spirit, dashed into the forest, and hurrying over sixty leagues of territory, presented himself before the cacique in one of his most populous towns, as a friendly ambassador from the admiral. Cannabo had already conceived a warrior's admiration for Ojeda, from his conduct during the recent siege, and his personal qualities now led to his being regarded as a favourite. So dexterously did Ojeda use his newly-acquired influence, that Cannabo agreed to



visit Columbus; but when the time for starting arrived, Ojeda saw with surprise a powerful army ready to march. Ojeda intimated that such a force was not necessary in a merely friendly visit, but the cacique replied that any other escort would not be fitting so great a prince as himself. Ojeda, therefore, tried another expedient. Producing a set of highly-polished manacles, and assuring Cannabo that they were ornaments worn by the Castilian monarchs on great festivals, and sent as a present to him, he proposed that, after certain ceremonies, he should be decorated with them. Accordingly Cannabo bathed in the river, mounted behind Ojeda on his noble horse, and pleasing himself in his simplicity with the idea of the state of a Spanish monarch, was invested with the glittering shackles. But soon was the splendid dream dissipated: the Spaniards drew their swords, threatened Cannabo with instant death if he made any resistance, bound him with cords to Ojeda, then hastened off with their prize, and after a long, rough, and perilous journey, Ojeda entered Isabella in triumph, with Cannabo bound behind him as a captive.

The air of the cacique, when brought before Columbus, was lofty and unsubdued; he neither solicited favour nor deprecated vengeance. Caught in the coils of Ojeda, he bore him no resentment, but regarded him as successful in a well-laid stratagem. When Columbus entered the prison of his captive, all present rose and paid him reverence, while the cacique remained sitting; but when Ojeda entered, the cacique rose, and saluted him with the utmost reverence. Columbus was not insensible to the heroic spirit of the cacique, but thought it necessary to his safety to hold him as a prisoner till he could be shipped for Spain. One of Cannabo's brothers endeavoured to surprise the fortress of St. Thomas, and to capture some Spaniards, for whom the cacique might be exchanged, but he was over-matched by Ojeda, who routed his forces, and took him captive.

The spirit of Columbus was now greatly cheered by the arrival of four ships, with not merely a supply of provisions, but a number of persons, among whom were mechanics and husbandmen. He was especially gratified by a letter from the sovereigns, conveying their approval of all he had done, and inviting him to return, or to send some suitable person to attend a convention for adjusting the line of discovery between Spain and Portugal. Hastening the return of the ships, he sent his brother as his representative, specimens of fruits, and plants, and all the gold he could collect, with a human cargo of 500 Indian captives, to be sold as slaves in Seville!

That a renewed and hostile effort was about to be made by the allied caciques, was now communicated to Columbus by Guacanagari, and the admiral assembled all his forces to put their army to the route. A dreadful scene ensued, on which we shrink from dwelling; but there was one feature which must be mentioned, as characteristic: twenty-bloodhounds were let loose on the naked Indians, among whom they committed frightful ravages. The defeat of the caciques was decisive, and, though Guacanagari was little more than a spectator of the battle, his support of the Spaniards excited the utmost execration of his countrymen.

Columbus now proceeded through the island, in the attitude of a

conqueror, and imposed tributes on those he had vanquished. Wherever there were mines, each individual, above the age of fourteen years, was compelled to render, every three months, a tribute of gold-dust, which has been reckoned as equal in value to fifteen dollars of the present time. The demand on the cacique was proportionately larger; when gold was not produced, twenty-four pounds of cotton were specified as the quarterly tribute. Failure of payment incurred the penalty of arrest and punishment. Completely to subjugate the Indians, various forts were erected, to the destruction of the hopes they had cherished, and to their extreme depression and sorrow. They attempted retaliation on their oppressors by stripping the trees of fruit, pulling up useful roots, and even destroyed their fields of maize. But the evils they anticipated did not follow. The famine they sought to produce was averted from the Spaniards by supplies received from Spain; but they brought upon themselves increased and bitter sufferings, which were only ended in their most abject submission.

An evil influence was being exerted meanwhile against Columbus in the Court of Spain, by Margarite and Friar Boyle. The most exaggerated representations were made to his disadvantage, while his accusers cast a cloak over the offences with which they were so clearly chargeable. Clouds had now gathered over the royal favour, and the power of the admiral was on the wane. The fact was disclosed by a proclamation, giving permission to all native-born subjects, not only to settle in Hispaniola, but to go on voyages of discovery and traffic to the new world. An eighth of the tonnage was secured to Columbus, but he felt that his rights were invaded; that the arrangement was made without any communication with him; and that incalculable evils were likely, in consequence, to arise. The arrival of the ships at Lisbon, with the articles already mentioned, mitigated, in some degree, the unfavourable impressions made against Columbus, but it was determined to send out a commissioner to examine his conduct and the alleged distresses of the colony. As to the five hundred slaves sent to Spain, the queen ordered that they should be taken back to their native country, as she found a variance among the opinions of theologians as to whether or not they might be justly detained.

Juan de Aguado, the commissioner, on arriving in Hispaniola, and finding Columbus absent, proceeded to the full exercise of power. Setting aside Don Bartholomew, who had been placed in command by the admiral, and utterly forgetful that, when at Hispaniola before, he was specially commended to the royal favour by Columbus, he proclaimed himself by sound of trumpet, arrested various public officers, and directed that all who conceived themselves wronged should state their case to him. Nor did he conceal the unfavourable estimate he had formed of Columbus; he even spoke of proceeding to his arrest, and the most serious consequences to the admiral were speedily apprehended.

Columbus was a man of very different mould, and hastened to meet Aguado, at Isabella, though he heard of his insolence in the interior of the island. He even received him with the utmost courtesy,



directed his letter of credence to be again proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and expressed his willingness to do promptly whatever might be agreeable to his sovereigns. But the spirit of the admiral was misconstrued, and his conduct attributed to weakness. Accusers sprang up on every hand, and to him was ascribed every evil which in any way had befallen the colony. It was not long before Aguado considered he had completed his case, involving the utter ruin of Columbus and his brothers, and he prepared to leave the colony. Columbus was equally resolved on returning to Spain, deeply concerned to vindicate his cause, and to trace the failure in revenue which had arisen, to its real cause.

Their purpose was delayed by a terrible storm, which sank three of the ships, and drove others wrecks on the shore. Before a vessel could be constructed for them, tidings were brought by a young man named Diaz, in the service of the Adelantado, of his becoming acquainted with mines still richer in gold than those of Cibao, on the banks of a river called the Hayna. The new vessel, the Santa Cruz, being now completed, and the Nina repaired, Columbus gave charge of the island to his brother Bartholomew, and embarked in one of the caravels, while Aguado proceeded in the other. The refuse of the colony accompanied them; there were also thirty Indians, and among them the cacique Cannabo, one of his brothers, and a nephew, whom he promised to restore to their island and power, after presenting them to the sovereigns, and hoping that they would hereafter aid him in accomplishing important purposes. Cannabo, however, expired during the voyage.

After a tedious voyage of four months, the vessels entered the bay of Cadiz. The return, however, presented a serious contrast to the departure. When the adventurers went forth, it was under the inspiring influence of high hopes, and in the enjoyment of the full tide of health; but now appeared a train of men pale and wan with the ravages of disease and the sufferings of the voyage—men, it has been said, “who carried in their yellow countenances a mockery of that gold which had been the object of their search; and who had nothing to relate of the New World but tales of sickness, poverty, and disappointment.”

Columbus appeared in the garb of a Franciscan monk; but on his way to Burgos, to meet the sovereigns, he made a splendid show of coronets, collars, bracelets, and other golden ornaments. He was also accompanied by several Indians, gaily decorated with glittering ornaments, and among them was the brother of Cannabo, wearing a massive collar and chain of gold. Anticipating very different treatment, he was regarded by the sovereigns with great favour, nor was there any allusion to the complaints of his accusers, or to the investigation through which Aguado had passed. It was evident that what Columbus had accomplished outweighed all that had been alleged to his discredit. Encouraged, therefore, by these auspicious circumstances, he asked for eight ships, two to proceed with supplies to Hispaniola, the other six to be placed under his command for a voyage of enterprize, which he promised should be crowned by more extensive discoveries.



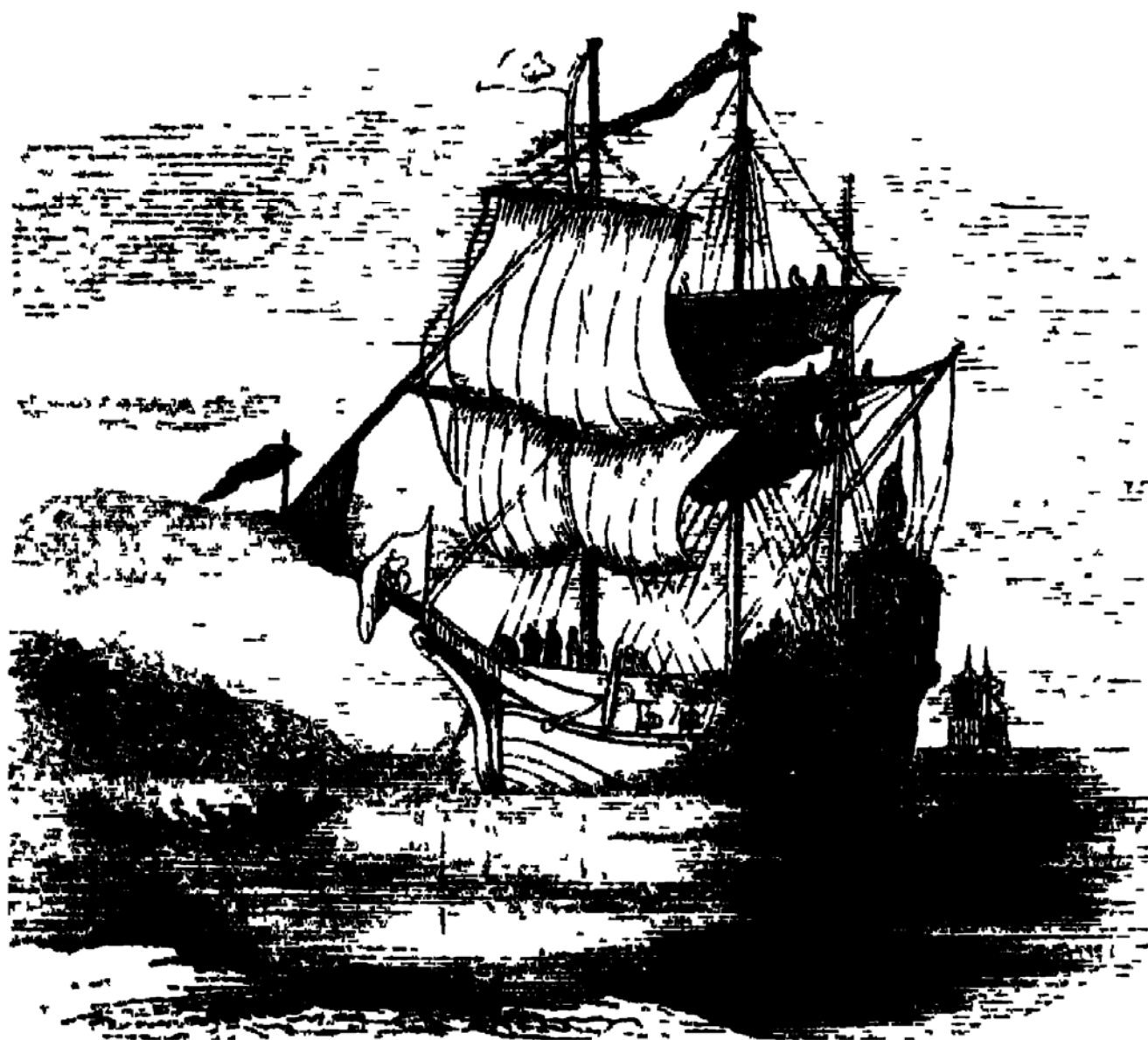
## CHAPTER VIII.

## THIRD VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

It was after the return of Columbus from his second voyage that many grants, which were exceedingly gratifying, were now made to him, more particularly by Isabella, for Ferdinand lavished all his revenues in warlike enterprises; but serious difficulties obstructed his course, and a spirit hostile to his views was apparent in various quarters. Nearly two years elapsed before the two ships were despatched to Hispaniola, and in preparing the six ships for further discovery there was a still more serious delay. On the 30th of May, 1498, they were completed. Columbus again set sail, resolved on pursuing a somewhat different route.

On the 1st of August, the man stationed in the round-top surprised them with the joyful cry of "Land!" They stood towards it and discovered a considerable island, to which the admiral gave the name of Trinidad. It lies on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. It rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and rushes into it with such impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coast reaches to an uncommon height, their collision occasions a swell and agitation of the waves no less surprising than formidable. In this conflict the irresistible torrent of the river so far prevails that it freshens the ocean many leagues with its flood.

Before Columbus could apprehend any danger, he was entangled



COLUMBUS LANDING IN AMERICA.

among those adverse currents and tempestuous waves, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he escaped through a narrow strait, which appeared so tremendous that he called it La Boca del Diago. As soon as the consternation which this occasioned permitted him to reflect on the nature of an appearance

so extraordinary, he discerned in it a source of comfort and hope,

He justly concluded that such a vast body of water as this river contained could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and consequently that he had now arrived at that continent which it had been his great concern to discover. Full of this idea, he stood to the west, along the coast of those provinces which are now known by the names of Paria and Cumana.

He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the people, who resembled those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. They seemed to possess a better understanding and greater courage than the inhabitants of the islands. The country produced four-footed animals of several kinds, as well as a great variety of fowls and fruits. So much delighted was the admiral with its beauty and fertility that he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture. Thus Columbus had the honour not only of discovering the New World, but made considerable progress towards an acquaintance with it. The shattered condition of his ships, the scarcity of provisions, his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, prevented his making any further discovery, and he bore away for St. Domingo.

Don Bartholomew had experienced many trials during the absence of his brother from the colony. One person, Francisco Rodan, who had been raised by Columbus from deep poverty, and promoted until he attained the rank of chief-justice of the island, had become a great cause of disquietude. His object was to raise the fabric of his own power and authority on the ruins of those possessed by Columbus and his brothers. Mingling with the people, he insinuated that the admiral was in disgrace, and would be detained in Spain, and that the designs of his brothers were neither generous nor just; but, on the contrary, selfish and mercenary. And so powerfully did his calumnies act on the people, that they would have assassinated the adelantado, had not the plot been happily discovered in time.



NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.

Don Diego, thinking to divert him from such purposes, despatched him with a small force to reduce some Indians who had become disaffected. But it served as a nucleus, around which he gathered all the discontented caciques, and soon insolently defied those who were invested with authority. He immediately proceeded to many acts of violence, and would have taken possession of one of the forts, but his designs were frustrated by its commander. His forces also increased; remonstrances and threats were alike altogether in vain, while he employed secret means, as well as open outrage, to effect his purposes. His conduct led the Indians to withhold their tribute. The resources of the colony were rapidly diminishing. Even the adelantado was not sure of the fidelity of his garrison, and remained shut up in Fort Conception, and despair was staring him in the face, when two ships arrived with provisions and troops, and, moreover, with the royal confirmation of the authority of the adelantado, to the discomfiture of the rebels, and the security of his soldiers' fidelity.

The adelantado now offered Roldan and his associates exemption from punishment, on condition of immediate obedience. The proposal was instantly rejected. Roldan now exhibited the distant province of Xaragua to his adherents as a region free from the thralldom to which they had been subject, and where they might give themselves up to indulgence; and, charmed by the prospect, they followed him at once to what they deemed an earthly paradise. But while the adelantado was thus delivered from a subtle and dangerous foe, he had other evils to endure in the insurrection of the Indians under the cacique Guarionex; nor was it put down until the adelantado and his soldiers were almost worn out with toil and hunger. On the capture of the cacique he expected nothing but death, for this insurrection and others in which he had been engaged; but the adelantado was satisfied with merely holding him as a prisoner.

Columbus landed at St. Domingo in this distracted state of the colony, and was astonished and pained on finding that three vessels he had despatched from the Canaries had not yet arrived. Strangely enough, from the violence of currents, and the unskilfulness of pilots, they had been driven a hundred and sixty miles west of the island, and compelled to take shelter in the very province to which Roldan and his adherents had repaired. Their leader carefully concealed from the commanders of the ships his insurrection; and, making every effort to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers they had brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. The refuse of the gaols of Spain, familiar with idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence, required but few arguments to espouse the cause of Roldan, and they eagerly returned to a course like that to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the vessels saw, when it was too late, the imprudence of disembarking so many of their men; reached the port a few days after the admiral; but their stock of provisions, wasted during a long voyage, brought little relief to the colony.

Roldan, aided by a band of such bold and desperate associates, became extremely formidable, and consequently more extravagant in his demands. But though Columbus was enraged at his ingratitude,



and exasperated at the insolence of his followers, he dreaded the breaking forth of the bitter consequences of a civil war, and determined to negotiate rather than to fight. A favourable impression was now made on the minds of some of the mutineers, by a proclamation offering a free pardon to any who would return to obedience, and promising to all who should desire it the liberty of returning to Spain. Engaging to restate Roldan in his office, Columbus soothed his pride; and, complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied their avarice. Thus, after much negotiation, but without bloodshed, he terminated a most dangerous confederacy, and restored the appearance of order and tranquillity to the colony.

To the mutineers, now brought under subjection, lands were assigned in different parts of the island, and the Indians who were there were directed to cultivate a certain portion of new ground for the use of their masters. This substitution of labour for the payment of tribute, brought heavy calamities on the suffering natives; and it prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries, as it was necessary for his own preservation to keep near him the adelantado, and the sailors who were designed for that service. As soon as he could, he sent some of his ships to Spain, with a journal of his voyage, a description of the discoveries he had recently made, a chart of the coast along which he had sailed, and specimens of the gold, pearls, and other valuable or curious articles he had obtained from traffic with the natives. He described, also, the insurrection which had taken place, and prepared several regulations for the better government of the colony. Roldan and his associates, meanwhile, were not neglectful of their own interests; they sent to Spain, by the same ships, a defence of their conduct, to which they added various accusations of the admiral and his brothers, and unhappily the latter gained most credit, and fruit unexpectedly arose from the seeds of calumny that were thus diligently sown.

Ferdinand had a ready ear for such allegations. He saw, with eagle eye, that a remote commercial advantage placed in one scale, with the remittances that had been received, were far outweighed by the costs of the armaments. The honour of the discovery in such circumstances vanished before him into thin air. As he conceived the country to abound with gold, he traced the loss sustained by Spain to Columbus's misconduct and incapacity for government, and cherished the feelings to which such conclusions gave rise. Nor was Ferdinand disabused in any respect by the influence of Isabella, in whose favour the admiral had occupied so high a place. On the contrary, as she had heard repeated tales of grievance and disaffection, she supposed that they must have some real and lamentable cause; hence she also indulged in suspicion, and her prejudices were confirmed by the Bishop of Badajoz.

Had her state of mind been different, Columbus might have defied, as he had already done, many and powerful adversaries. But the last staff of his confidence was now broken, and a fatal resolution was taken against him. Francis de Bobadilla was appointed to inquire into his conduct, and, on finding two charges proved, he was to supersede him in the government of St. Domingo. The judge had, there-

fore, the strongest interest in the conviction of the accused; and accordingly, as soon as he landed he treated Columbus as a criminal. He took possession of the admiral's house, and seized his effects, in his absence. He rendered himself master of the fort and of the King's stores by violence. He set at liberty all prisoners, and required that all should acknowledge him as chief governor. He transmitted to Columbus the royal mandate declarative of his own authority, and summoned him at the same time to give an account of his conduct.

Columbus, deeply affected by such treatment from his sovereigns, repaired submissively, and without delay, to Bobadilla's court. But further degradation awaited him. Instead of admitting the man he had summoned into his presence, Bobadilla ordered his immediate arrest, his being laden with irons, and hurried on board a ship. And so popular had his oppressor become among the Spaniards by various favours, whom indigence or crime had impelled to leave their country, that they expressed the most indecent satisfaction at the disgrace and imprisonment of Columbus. It was from these persons that Bobadilla collected materials for his charges, and transmitted the result to Spain.

That Columbus and his brothers, all bound in fetters, might not derive any solace from intercourse, they were confined in different ships. The captain of the vessel in which the admiral was a prisoner, acted towards him, however, with great kindness. As soon as he was clear of the island, he approached Columbus with great respect, and offered to release him from his chains; but the favour was at once declined. "I wear these irons," replied Columbus, "in consequence of an order of my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this, as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and by their command alone will I be set at liberty."

Extremely short was the voyage to Spain. Meanwhile, Ferdinand and Isabella were the subjects of no little anxiety and apprehension. They could not avoid the impression that the disgrace and bondage of their prisoner would cast a slur on their own honour, and that in the view of all Europe. Thus a change was suddenly wrought in their policy; they not only set Columbus at liberty, but invited him to court, and sent him money, that his appearance there might accord with his rank. On entering the royal presence, he threw himself at the feet of the sovereigns, utterly overwhelmed by the feelings that arose in his bosom. At length he gave a full account of his proceedings, and amply exposed the malice of his enemies.

Still the sovereigns were only half-hearted in the cause of Columbus. They expressed their sorrow for what had occurred, of which they declared themselves ignorant, and promised him future protection and favour; they also as instantly degraded Bobadilla; but they did not reinstate Columbus as viceroy of the countries he had discovered. Under various pretexts, they retained him at court, and appointed Nicholas de Ovando governor of St. Domingo. Columbus was deeply afflicted by this new injury from the hands of those to whom he looked for a healing balm for his wounded heart. In one way he gave expression to his feelings. He carried about with him the fetters which had been placed upon him wherever he went; they

constantly hung up in his chamber, and he ordered that, when he died, they should be buried in his grave.

Ovando arrived at St. Domingo in due time with a powerful reinforcement, and Bobadilla was required instantly to return to Spain. Roldan and the other mutineers were ordered to leave the island at the same time. A proclamation was issued declaring the natives to be free subjects of Spain, from whom no service was to be exacted unwillingly, or without just payment for their labour. Various regulations were also made, tending to suppress the licentious spirit of the Spaniards, which had been so injurious to the colony; and to establish a reverence for law, as well as to limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make from working mines, it was ordered that all the gold should be brought to a public smelting-house, and one half declared the property of the crown.

While these measures were taken, Columbus was appealing to the court of Spain for a just settlement of his own claims; but he had no real friend in Ferdinand. That sovereign had long been dissatisfied with the grant of such extended favours to a foreigner, though at the time they were bestowed there was no knowledge of the countries over which they would be exercised. The light cast upon them by Columbus was increased by that derived from the discoveries of other navigators, one of whom was Vincente Yanez Pinzon, one of the family from which Columbus obtained a companion in his first voyage. All the information gained produced the impression of almost boundless territory, and of proportionate wealth. For Columbus to be viceroy under such circumstances became, in his view, more and more repugnant; in addition to which Columbus was not, as he had been, indispensable. He had opened the path which many navigators were now willing to track, even doing so at their own cost, and sharing their profits with the sovereign. The jealousy and selfishness of Ferdinand are strikingly apparent, but these were prominent in his character.

Not that they burst forth at once in the view of Columbus; on the contrary, it was plausibly pretended that the factions of the island might occasion him great anxieties were he to return, and that another governor had better exercise his power until the discontents were quelled. Meanwhile, Columbus bore his trials with great meekness, warmly cherished in his bosom the spirit of enterprise, and left no means unemployed for bringing it into full operation.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

It was with a constitution impaired by past trials, but with a mind retaining all its vigour, that Columbus commenced his fourth voyage of discovery when he was not far from seventy years of age. He sailed from Cadiz, accompanied by his brother Don Bartholomew, and with a small squadron, on the 9th of May, 1502. He reached the Caribbee islands after an auspicious voyage, and intended at once to proceed on his discoveries; but wishing to exchange one of his



vessels for one of the fleet that had taken out Ovando, he sailed onwards for St. Domingo, acting in express violation of his orders, but trusting that the reason of his so doing would be a sufficient excuse.

At the time of his arrival the island was under great excitement. The fleet of Ovando was in the harbour, ready to take Roldan and many of his followers to Spain, several of whom were under arrest. Bobadilla had acted imprudently and tyrannously, but the large quantity of gold with which he was about to embark would cover, he supposed, his many and great errors. Columbus now sent an explanation of the purpose of his coming, and a request that, as a storm was approaching, he might be allowed to take shelter in the harbour; but this favour was refused by Ovando. Columbus foreseeing, from his great experience, that a tempest was approaching, asked that the sailing of the fleet might be delayed; but as, to an ordinary eye, all seemed fair, his application in this case was treated with derision. It was with varied feelings, among which indignation was dominant, that Columbus endured such treatment, while the crew were dissatisfied at having cast in their lot with him who could be thus assailed. He knew, however, that a tempest was at hand, and it was necessary at once to gain the best shelter in their power.

It was not long before the storm came in all the fury that prevails in the regions of the west. Columbus kept close to the shore, and sustained no injury; but the other vessels were driven about tremendously, and were in imminent danger of entire destruction. The adelantado was in the greatest peril; but at length, they all gained a port of St. Domingo in safety. Not so was it with the Spanish fleet: the most inveterate enemies of Columbus, among whom were Bobadilla and Roldan, with all their ill-gotten gold, sank like lead in the mighty waters. Many ships were entirely lost; some in a shattered state returned to St. Domingo, and only one safely reached Spain—the one, singularly enough, that contained 4,000 pieces of gold, remitted by the agent of Columbus.

As soon as his ships were ready, Columbus again set sail; intent on discovering the supposed strait that was to lead him to the Indian Ocean. Here another tempest occurred, and the admiral was so ill that he frequently thought his death was near. At length he arrived at what is called Costa Rica, or the Rich Coast, from the gold and silver mines found in after years among its mountains. Here he found ornaments of pure gold among the natives. He heard also of a great kingdom in the west, where an abundance of gold was found. Of this he went in pursuit; but after proceeding beyond Cape Nombre de Dios, he gave up all further efforts to find the strait. Though he advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the Gulf of Mexico from the great Southern Ocean. So delighted, however, was he with the fertility of the country and its apparent wealth, that he resolved to leave a small colony in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return to Spain, to procure all that was necessary for a permanent establishment.

Quibian, the cacique, was secretly opposed to these proceedings, and it was in vain Columbus attempted to obtain his favour. Quibian

contemplated an attack on the Spaniards, and the adelantado resolved to defeat his plot; in which he succeeded. The cacique was taken, but he subsequently escaped. The spoils of his dwelling consisted of bracelets and anklets, massive plates of gold, and two coronets. One of these was assigned to the adelantado; a part of the booty was set apart for the crown, and the remainder was shared by the adventurers.

The ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, however, deprived Columbus of the honour of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapacity provoked the natives to take arms; and as these were more hardy and warlike than the islanders, they cut off some of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon the station as untenable. This repulse, the first that had been met with from the American nations, was followed by a succession of the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightening, threatened the leaky vessels with destruction; while the discontented crews, destitute of provisions and exhausted with fatigue, were unwilling or unable to execute the commands of Columbus. One of his ships perished, another was necessarily abandoned, as unfit for service, and with the two that remained he quitted that part of the continent which he named, in his anguish, the Coast of Vexation, and bore away for St. Domingo.

In this voyage other distresses awaited Columbus. A violent tempest drove him back from the coast of Cuba, his ships fell foul of one another, and were so much shattered that it was with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, where he was obliged to run them aground to prevent them from sinking. The measure of calamity seemed now to be full. Cast ashore on an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America, his ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. Availing himself, therefore, of the kindness of the natives—who, considering the Spaniards were beings of a superior nature, were eager to relieve their wants—he obtained two canoes, each formed of the trunk of a tree, hollowed with fire. In these wretched boats Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, bravely offered to set out for St. Domingo, a voyage of about thirty leagues. They accomplished their purpose in ten days, after encountering incredible perils, and enduring such fatigues that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under their sufferings and died.

Pitiable as was their condition, it might be supposed to plead loudly in their behalf, but the attention paid them by Ovando was neither such as their courage deserved, nor the distress of the persons from whom they came required. For eight months they earnestly solicited relief, but unhappily in vain.

The feelings of Columbus and his companions, during this time, were various and conflicting. At first the hope of speedy deliverance cheered even the desponding; after some time, the more timorous began to forebode that the effort had failed; at length the last hope of the most sanguine was quenched, and abject despair settled in every

breast. The sailors, now transported with rage, became openly mutinous, threatened the life of Columbus as the author of all their calamities, seized the canoes which he had purchased from the Indians, and, despising alike remonstrance and entreaty, made off with them to a distant part of the island. Other evils arose, before long, from the natives; for as their industry was not greater than that of their neighbours in St. Domingo, like them they found the supporting of so many strangers intolerable. Provisions were brought in with reluctance, and threats were held out of their being withdrawn altogether, a course which had been fatal to the Spaniards.

Columbus, as he had often done before, now resorted to artifice: availing himself of his skill in astronomy, and knowing that there would shortly be a total eclipse of the moon, on the day before it was to happen, he assembled all the principal persons of the district, and after reprobating them for their fickleness in withdrawing their aid from men whom they lately revered, declared that the Spaniards were the servants of the Great Spirit, who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; and that he, offended by their neglect of men who were the objects of his special favour, was prepared to punish their crime with exemplary severity. He affirmed that on the following night, the moon would withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as an emblem of the vengeance they were about to endure: some listening with careless indifference, and others with credulous surprise. But when the night came, and the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, only one feeling prevailed—all were struck with astonishment and terror. They ran to their houses—instantly returned laden with provisions to Columbus, and laid them at his feet, conjuring him to entreat the Great Spirit to avert the destruction that threatened them. Columbus appeared to be moved by their entreaties, promising to comply with their request: the moon, of course, soon recovered its splendour; and from that day the Spaniards were plentifully supplied. The device adopted by Columbus, in this instance, has often been lauded for its ingenuity, but on sound principles it must be condemned, as utterly at variance with the claims of truth and sincerity.

Re-embarking with his shattered crew, he was driven by a succession of frightful tempests across the ocean, until the 7th November, 1504, when he anchored in the little harbour of St. Lucar, twelve miles from Seville, to which city he speedily repaired. But even here peace was not to be his lot. From the time of his arrest by Bobadilla, his affairs had been deranged; what was due to him was but partially collected, and even this amount had not been paid him. Not only had his finances been exhausted by the last voyage, but it had involved him in fresh difficulties. The money collected in St. Domingo was spent in bringing home many of his late crew; while he was supposed to be rich he was in personal want; and to a considerable extent the crown was his debtor. "I receive nothing of the revenue due to me," he writes to his son Diego, who still retained his place at court, "but live by borrowing. Little have I profited by twenty years of toils and perils, since at present I do not own a roof in Spain. I have no resort but an inn, and for the most times have not wherewithal to pay my bill."



Unable, from his infirmities, to appear at court, he urged his claims in the strongest terms, both by letter and the intervention of personal friends. "I have served their Majesties," he says, "with as much zeal and diligence as if it had been to gain paradise; and if I have failed in anything, it has been because my knowledge and powers went no further." And yet his bitter and relentless enemies seemed to prevail. Ferdinand was indifferent to all his appeals, and while he was looking to Isabella with hope, she was attacked by serious disease, and was soon no more.

As soon as he was at all equal to the effort, he proceeded to the court at Segovia. Here his treatment presented a striking and melancholy contrast to that he had formerly received. Ferdinand, indeed, received him with many professions of kindness, but these were all. Columbus urged, for many months, his restitution to office as viceroy and governor of the Indies, which he considered as of chief importance because it affected his reputation, and his dignities had been granted by solemn treaty; while all pecuniary claims he left to the disposal of the sovereign. But all his applications signally and unhappily failed.

Disease now rapidly increased upon him; and in a codicil made on the eve of his death, he enforced his original will, constituting his son, Diego, his universal heir, entailing his honours and estates on the male line of his family, and providing for his brothers, Don Bartholomew and Don Diego, and his natural son Don Fernando. He expired on the 20th of May, 1506, being about seventy years of age.

The spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expense of the sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors, instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves.

One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal licence, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the Bishop of Badajoz easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus, or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in 1492, Ojeda was permitted to set

out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out no new path of navigation, but, adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived at the coast of Paria. He traded with the natives, and, standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was part of a continent, to be true, Ojeda returned by way of St. Domingo to Spain, with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served is uncertain ; but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient to navigation, he seems to have acquired such authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen ; and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative so as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passions of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, America is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate impostor have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus ; and mankind may regret an act of injustice which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress.

Another fact may here be mentioned :—

Henry VII. of England, however avariciously inclined, evinced great readiness to facilitate and promote adventure in the novel career now opened to human ambition. The all-important and engrossing object was to discover a route to India ; and an expedition in a north-westerly direction, ostensibly to reach what was called Cathay, or the Land of Spice, was, speedily after the discoveries of Columbus, projected by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol, and fitted out under the auspices of the English government.

The expedition, consisting of the ship commanded by Sebastian and three or four smaller vessels, sailed from Bristol in the beginning of

May, 1497; and an ancient Bristol manuscript records the fact that, "in the year 1497, the 24th of June, on St. John's-day, was Newfoundland found by Bristol men, in a ship called the Mathew." On the authority of Peter Martyr, we learn, that after quitting the north, when he reached lat.  $67\frac{1}{2}$  deg., Cabot proceeded along the coast of the continent to a latitude corresponding partially with that of the Straits of Gibraltar. He is said to have gone still further south, but a failure of provisions at this point compelled him to desist from continued pursuit, and the expedition returned to England.

A second voyage was now zealously undertaken. A ship, equipped at the king's expense, along with four small vessels, sailed from Bristol in the spring of the year 1498. It is curious that the leading object of the expedition was to discover a north-west passage. The result is, unfortunately, wrapped in much obscurity. According to Gomara, Cabot "directed his course by the tract of islands upon the Cape of Labrador; affirming that in the month of July there was such cold and heaps of ice that he durst pass no further; also, that the days were very long, and, in manner, without night, and the nights very clear."

According to Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," Cabot, in 1489, with extraordinary preparations, set forth from thence, and made great discoveries. This is confirmed by the navigator Ojeda, having in his first voyage found certain Englishmen in the neighbourhood of Caquibacoa. It is highly probable, from the unlikelihood of any other Englishmen pursuing such a route, that these were Cabot and his companions; but the narrative of his life, for the fifteen years subsequent to the departure of his second expedition, is meagre and unsatisfactory. One circumstance deserves notice, that during that period Amerigo Vespucci, in company with Ojeda, crossed the Atlantic for the first time, while Sebastian was prosecuting his third voyage; yet, says the author of his memoirs, "while the name of the one overspreads the New World, no bay, cape, or headland recalls the memory of the other."

There belong also to Welsh history some traditions respecting the adventures of Madoc, a prince of North Wales, who is said to have first discovered America at the latter end of the twelfth century. Owing to certain domestic contentions about the sovereignty, Madoc determined, as runs the thread of these traditions, to go out voyaging to a great distance, when he had procured men and ships, with all necessaries. The ancient Britons were said to be very proficient in the art of navigation, and all things pertaining thereunto. When they had been many weeks at sea, and had been much tossed about, they, at length, to their great joy, discovered land, which seemed at first sight like a cloud resting upon the distant waters. Seeing that it was quite steady, they concluded it to be land, and sailing towards it, found it to be a fertile and pleasant country. Here they settled, and in course of time Madoc returned to Wales, and brought from home fresh men and ships, by means of which he stocked the country, and they all settled there; and he and the other adventurers were subsequently forgotten by the mother-country.

It is supposed that the part of the world which Madoc arrived at



was a part of the vast continent of America, which the Spaniards appear to have first found out. The especial reason, which induces the moderns to consider the story of Madoc to be essentially true is, that so many of the words used by the Indians of those regions were found to be similar in sound and signification to the Welsh; this has led to those people being called Welsh Indians. They live about the fortieth degree of north latitude, and have been thrown back more westward by the encroachments of the Americans of the States. They were originally called Padoucas, or White Indians. We will now turn to the very remarkable narrative of Lieutenant Roberts, which, being coupled with the tradition cited above, strongly supports the idea of this discovery of America.

"In the year 1801," says he, "being at Washington, in America, I happened to be at a hotel smoking my cigar, according to the custom of the country, and there was a young lad (a native of Wales), a waiter in the house, who displeased me by bringing me a glass of brandy and warm water, instead of cold. I said to him jocosely, in Welsh, 'I'll give you a good beating.'"

"There happened to be, at the time in the same room, one of the secondary Indian chiefs, who, on my pronouncing these words, rose up in a great hurry, stretching forth his hand at the same time, and the chief said that it was likewise his language and the language of his father and mother, and of his nation." "So it is the language of my father and mother, and of my country," said I. Upon this, the Indian began to inquire from whence I came? I replied "from Wales," but he had never heard a word about such place. I explained that Wales was a principality in a kingdom called England. He had heard of England and the English, but never of such a place as Wales.

"I asked him if there were any traditions among them from whence their ancestors came? He said there were; and that they had come from a far distant country, very far in the east, and from over the great waters. I conversed with him in Welsh and in English; he knew better English than I did; and I asked him to count in Welsh. He immediately counted to a hundred or more. He knew English very well, because he was in the habit of trading with the English Americans. Amongst other things, I asked him how they came to retain their language so well from mixing with the languages of the other Indians? He answered, that they had a law, or an established custom in their country, forbidding any to teach their children another language until they had attained the age of twelve years, and after that age they were at liberty to learn any language they pleased. I asked him if he would like to go to England or Wales. He replied that he had not the least inclination to leave his native country, and that he would sooner live in a wigwam than in a palace. He had ornamented his arms with bracelets, and on his head were placed ostrich feathers. ✱

"I was astonished and greatly amazed when I saw and heard such a man, who had painted his face a yellowish red, and of such an appearance, speaking the language as fluently as if he had been born and brought up in the vicinity of Snowdon. His hair was shaved, excepting round the crown of his head, and there it was very long.

and neatly plaited; and it was on the crown of the head he had placed the ostrich feathers, which I mentioned before, to ornament himself."

It may be well, before we pass on, to notice the movements of a distinguished Englishman in reference to America. Sir Walter Raleigh having gained the favour of Queen Elizabeth, obtained from her a patent, in 1584, empowering him to possess such countries as he should discover on the continent of North America. Accordingly, at his own expense, he fitted out two ships, which sailed in the month of April, and returned to England about the middle of September, reporting that they had discovered and taken possession of a fine country, to which the Queen gave the name of Virginia.

In 1585 Raleigh sent a new expedition to Virginia, commanded by his relative, Sir Richard Greenville, who left a colony at Roanah of 107 persons, under the government of Mr. Lane; and by its establishment imported tobacco into England. In the year 1587 he sent another colony to Virginia, but his various undertakings and affairs obliged him to assign his patent to a company, and the plan of colonizing was by them speedily relinquished, so that the unfortunate colonists were left to their fate. Falling under the queen's displeasure, Raleigh projected the conquest of Guiana, in South America; and in 1595 sailed for that country, in the vain hope of discovering the golden regions of *El Dorado*, supposed to be situated in the depths of Guiana. He returned to England in the same year. After sixteen years' imprisonment for a plot against King James, of which there was no legal proof, he obtained his liberty, and immediately began to prepare for another voyage to Guiana, which proved as abortive and ruinous as his last. In the year 1618 he returned from this fatal voyage to England, where he was soon afterwards seized, imprisoned, and beheaded. He is said to have been sacrificed by the pusillanimous monarch to appease the Spaniards, who thought every part of their dominions in danger while Raleigh lived.

Diego, the son of Columbus, succeeded to the rights of his father, as viceroy and governor of the New World, according to the arrangements made between the sovereigns and Columbus. But this was not done without a legal suit, continued for several years, during which his claims were strongly disputed on various grounds. The council of the Indies ultimately pronounced a unanimous decision in his favour. The wily monarch, however, used all the means he could devise to delay ceding the powers to which Diego had thus been pronounced fully entitled.

At length, attended by his wife, Donna Maria, and several of his relatives, the new admiral embarked with a large retinue. He commenced his rule at St. Domingo, with a splendour hitherto unknown in the colony. But to this there was a serious check. Measures, adopted by Ferdinand, occasioned great annoyance, the enemies of the father became foes of the son, and thus there were heavy trials for Diego in the midst of his state.

On the subjugation and settlement of the island of Cuba, the admiral congratulated his sovereign on acquiring the largest and most beautiful island in the world, without the loss of a single man.

Meanwhile, various complaints were brought against Diego. Bartholomew still held the office to which he had long before been appointed as adelantado of the Indies, though dishonourably detained in Spain by Ferdinand, who employed inferior men in his voyages of discovery; but now he sent out Bartholomew with instructions for his nephew, the admiral.

Diego, dissatisfied, and that justly, with the treatment he received, requested permission to repair to court for the vindication of his conduct. On obtaining it, he left St. Domingo, and was received by Ferdinand with great honour. This appears to have been due to him. He had succeeded in all his enterprises, firmly established a pearl-fishery on the coast of Cubagua, and brought the islands of Cuba and Jamaica under culture without bloodshed. It seems, also, that he had acted with rectitude as a governor. Still, as Herrera, the historian, remarks, "Don Diego was always involved in litigation with the fiscal, so that he might truly say, he was heir to the troubles of his father." While he was thus defending himself at home, the adelantado died at St. Domingo. He has been described as "a man of not less worth than his brother, and who, if he had been employed, would have given great proofs of it; for he was an excellent seaman, valiant, and of a noble mind."

Soon after his decease, Ferdinand was numbered with the dead. Diego obtained from his successor, the emperor, Charles V., a recognition of his father's innocence, accompanied by an acknowledgment of his own rights to exercise the office of viceroy and governor of St. Domingo, and of all places discovered by Columbus. A supervisor was, however, appointed, with power to give information against Diego. With diminished power he returned to his viceroyalty, but his conduct raised against him a host of enemies both in Spain and the colonies.

St. Domingo, called, from its endless variety of hills and valleys, woods and rivers, as well as from the great productiveness of its soil, "the Queen of the Antilles," had enormous evils to charge on the Spanish adventurers. The glowing atmosphere that renders long-continued labour so wearisome, greatly lessens the need of it, by giving to the soil, with little culture, much more fertility than laborious tillage will impart in temperate climes. Many nutritious fruits, grateful to the taste and well-adapted to the support of man, either grow spontaneously, or, when once planted, require scarcely any further toil, but yield a constant and copious supply of food. The divine purpose is thus beyond dispute, that in such circumstances man should be exempt from severe toil.

But this merciful design was utterly disregarded. The thirst of gold could only be slaked as the aborigines continued to labour in the mines for those who had reduced them to bondage. The indolent and simple people, naturally of feeble constitution, and unfitted for such labours, rapidly became their victims. It is stated by Benzoni, the navigator, that of two millions of inhabitants contained in the island when discovered by Columbus, scarcely one hundred and fifty were alive in about sixty years!

To supply the ravages of this frightful waste of life, it was sug-



gested that negro slaves, stronger in constitution than the Indian natives might be transplanted from Africa, to sustain the toils under which they had sunk ; and the cruel, the deadly wrong was perpetrated. As the poet has said of the Spaniard :—

“The island race  
His foot had spurn'd from earth's insulted face.  
Among the waifs and foundlings of mankind,  
Abroad he looked, a sturdier stock to find ;  
A spring of life, whose fountain should supply  
His channels as he drank the rivers dry,  
That stock he found on Afric's swarming plains,  
That spring he open'd in the negro's veins ;  
A spring, exhaustless as his avarice, drew  
A stock, that like Prometheus' vital grew  
Beneath the eternal beak his heart that tore,  
Beneath the insatiate thirst that drain'd his gore.  
Thus, childless as the Charibbeans died,  
Afric's strong sons the ravening waste supplied ;  
Of hardier fibre to endure the yoke.  
And self renewed beneath the severing stroke,  
As grim oppression crush'd them to the tomb,  
Their fruitful parents' miserable womb  
Teem'd with fresh myriads, crowded o'er the waves,  
Heirs to their toil, their sufferings, and their graves.”

As we are now about to enter on the discovery of South America, it is desirable to remark, that in the physical arrangement of the parts of North as well as South America there is a remarkable resemblance. Both are very broad in the north, and gradually contract as they proceed southward, till they end, the one in a narrow isthmus, and the other in a narrow promontory. Each has a lofty chain of mountains near its western coast, abounding with volcanoes, with a broad ridge on the opposite side, destitute of any trace of internal fire ; and each has one great central plain, declining to the south and the north, and watered by two gigantic streams, the Mississippi corresponding with the Plata, and the St. Lawrence with the Amazon. In their climate, vegetable productions, and animal tribes, however, the two regions are very dissimilar. The American continent, with its dependent islands, is fully four times as large as Europe, about one-third larger than Africa, and almost one-half less than Asia, if we include with the latter Australia and Polynesia. It constitutes about three-tenths of the dry land on the surface of the globe.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, a man of birth, hardy, bold, and intelligent, appeared among the adventurers who were called forth by the Spanish voyages of discovery, and gained for himself a prominent place in their history. Having attained to the command of the colony of Darien, he was intent on discovering the parts of the country which were most rich in the precious metals—the road, he well knew, to the favour of Ferdinand, and to the exercise of power on his own part, which he was anxious to secure. That the province of Coyba promised great wealth he eagerly heard, and immediately despatched to

At Francisco Pizarro, with six companions. But they had not proceeded far along the course of the river, when a host of the natives rushed on them from the thickets, uttering savage yells, and assailing them with stones and arrows. Pizarro and his men hurried into the midst, slew many, and drove away the rest; but the Spaniards considering that they were ill provided for such another assault, hastily fled, leaving one of their companions wounded on the field, whom, after they had been severely reproached for so doing, they brought away in safety.

Pursuing his course, Vasco Nunez reached Coyba by sea, and on landing, invaded the territories of Ponca, the chief enemy of Careta, who was the cacique, and after sacking the villages, returned to Coyba with much booty. He then paid a friendly visit to the neighbouring province of Comagre, which had a cacique of the same name. On the approach of Vasco Nunez, Comagre went forth to meet him, accompanied by seven fine young men, his sons, and followed by his principal warriors and a multitude of his people. The Spaniards were conducted to the village with great ceremony, dwellings, with plentiful provisions, were assigned them, and men and women were appointed as their attendants.

The province, twelve miles in extent, was situated at the foot of a lofty mountain, in a beautiful plain. The dwelling of the cacique exceeded all they had previously seen in magnitude and convenience. The eldest son of the cacique presented Vasco Nunez with various ornaments, made of 4,000 ounces of gold, and with sixty captives he had taken in his wars. In a squabble which took place between Nunez and some of his followers for a quantity of gold they were weighing, the young barbarian, who was present, struck the scales with his fist, and, scattering the glittering metal round the apartment, exclaimed: "If this is what you prize so much that you are willing to leave your distant homes, and risk even life itself for it, I can tell you of a land where they eat and drink out of golden vessels, and gold is as cheap as iron is with you."

Delighted with such tidings, Vasco Nunez obtained from the young cacique all the information he had collected from the captives he had taken in battle respecting this region of gold. Sending to St. Domingo for provisions, he apprised Don Diego Columbus of what he had heard, and urged him to use his influence with Ferdinand that 1,000 men might be sent to his aid. He accompanied the request by 15,000 crowns in gold, as the proportion due to the sovereign on what had already been collected. Awaiting the result of these communications, he narrowly examined the surrounding country, and returned with the spoils and captives he had taken.

In the midst of murmurings, discontents, and rebellions, the vessels arrived from St. Domingo, not only with provisions, but a reinforcement of 150 men, and a commission to Vasco Nunez, signed by the royal treasurer of that island, fully appointing him captain-general of the colony. These circumstances restored quietude for a time, and, as soon as it was practicable, he set out with all the force he could collect on a new enterprise, in a brigantine and nine large canoes. On arriving at Coyba, he left about half his men there to guard these

vessels, and a few days after he proceeded to the mountains. It was a task of no ordinary difficulty to climb these heights, under the fervour of the climate and the weight of armour and weapons, and then to make a path through scarcely pervious forests. But the Spaniards braced themselves to its accomplishment, and availed themselves of the aid of the Indians as guides and as bearers of burdens.

On arriving at the village of Ponca they found that the cacique and his people had fled to the mountains; but their retreat was soon discovered, and Vasco Nunez so fully ingratiated himself into the regards of the cacique, that he told him all he knew of the riches of the country. He confidently assured him that there was a great sea beyond the mountains, and gave him several golden ornaments brought from the countries on its borders; and that when he had gained the summit of a lofty ridge to which he pointed, he would see an ocean spread out far below him.

Accompanied by fresh guides—for many of his men had fallen ill from fatigue and the heat of the climate—Nunez again set out through a rocky country, covered with a matted forest, in which were many streams he and his people could only cross by rafts; and, at the end of four days, they reached the province of a cacique named Quaraquà, who was at war with Ponca. With a large number of warriors he attacked the Spaniards with great fury, expecting that at once they would be overwhelmed; but, on the discharge of fire-arms, they were filled with consternation, and fled in their terror. The Spaniards pursued the fugitives, chased them with blood-hounds, slew Quaraquà and six hundred of his warriors, besides taking many prisoners. In the village they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. So exhausted, however, were many of the Spaniards by the wounds they had received, and the hunger they had endured, that they could not proceed, though the mountain top which revealed its view they so anxiously sought was still in sight. Vasco Nunez now obtained fresh guides, but only sixty-seven of his Spaniards were equal to the effort that was to be made, for which they were ordered to retire early to rest.

Early the next morning they commenced their toilsome, yet hopeful, task; and about ten o'clock the summit of the mountain alone remained to be ascended. Vasco Nunez now commanded his men to halt, and, unattended, he climbed the eminence. At length he reached the summit, and the prospect so long and so ardently desired burst on his sight. Beneath, his eyes fell on the rock, the forest, the savannah, and the streams; but beyond, the waters of the newly-discovered ocean were rolling in all their beauty and majesty—the vast ocean that separates Asia from America.

As soon as he beheld the South Sea, stretching in endless prospect before him, he fell on his knees, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country and so honourable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forwards to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity, when Nunez, advancing up to his middle in the waves with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean, with



all that it contained, for the sovereign of Castile, and declaring that he would make good the claim against all, Christian or infidel, who dared to gainsay it. It was a splendid vaunt; but, like many others of the same kind, was one of which Nunez did not comprehend the full import; nor did he live to accomplish what he might. This unknown sea, with all that it contained, remained unexplored for many years after his death.

It appears that about the same time the South Sea was discovered by Magellan. He, indeed, is pronounced by many its first European discoverer; while others as confidently affirm that this honour belongs to Vasco Nunez. It derived the name of the *Pacific* from the moderate weather which the first mariners experienced when they sailed in it between the tropics; and it was called the *South Sea* because the Spaniards crossed the Isthmus of Darien from north to south when they first discovered it, though, with regard to America, it is properly the *Western Ocean*.

That part of the great Pacific which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave it, and is situated to the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold by force of arms. Others sent them to him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents some of the caciques added a considerable quantity of pearls; and he learned from them, with much satisfaction, that pearl oysters abounded in the sea which he had newly discovered.

Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to soothe and encourage his followers, he received accounts which confirmed his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from the expedition. All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom situated at a considerable distance towards the South-east, the inhabitants of which had tame animals to carry their burdens. To give the Spaniards an idea of these, they traced the figure of the llama, which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described. As the llama in its form nearly resembles the camel, a beast of burden deemed peculiar to Asia, this circumstance, in conjunction with the discovery of the pearls, another noted production of that country, tended to confirm the Spaniards in their mistaken theory with respect to the vicinity of the New World to the East Indies.

But though the information which Nunez received from the people on the coast, as well as his own conjectures and hopes, rendered him extremely impatient to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men exhausted by fatigue, and weakened by disease. He determined, therefore, to lead back his followers to their settlement of Santa Maria, in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprize. In order to acquire a more extensive knowledge of the isthmus, he marched back by a different route, which he found to be no less difficult and dangerous than that which he had formerly taken; but to men elated with success, and

animated with hope, formidable obstacles are easily surmounted. Nunez returned to Santa Maria, from which he had been absent four months, with much honour and more treasure than the Spaniards had previously acquired.

The first care of Nunez was, to send information to Spain of the important discovery which he had made, and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men, in order to attempt the conquest of that opulent country concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence. The first account of the discovery of the New World hardly occasioned greater joy than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found to the great Southern Ocean. The communication with the East Indies, by a course to the westward of the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, seemed now to be certain. The vast wealth which flowed into Portugal from the settlements and conquests in that country, excited the envy and called forth the emulation of other states. Ferdinand now hoped to come in for a share of this lucrative commerce, and, in his eagerness to obtain it, was willing to make an effort beyond what Nunez required. But even in this exertion his jealous policy, as well as the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, the Bishop of Burgos, to every man who distinguished himself in the New World, was conspicuous. Notwithstanding Balboa's recent services, which marked him out as the most proper person to finish the great enterprise on which he had entered, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook these, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He even gave him the command of fifteen stout vessels and 1,200 soldiers. These were fitted out at the public expense, with a liberality which Ferdinand had never displayed in any former armament destined to the New World; and such was the ardour of the Spanish gentry to follow a leader who was about to conduct them to a country where, as it was reported, they had only to throw their nets into the sea, and draw out gold, that 1,500 embarked on board the fleet, and, had they not been restrained, a still greater number would have engaged in the service.

Pedrarias reached the Gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers ashore to inform Nunez of his arrival, with the king's commission, to be governor of the colony. To their astonishment they found Balboa, of whose exploits they had heard so much, and of whose wealth they had formed such lofty ideas, clad in a canvass jacket, and wearing coarse hempen sandals, used only by the meanest peasants, employed, together with some Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds. Even in this simple garb, so ill according with the expectations and wishes of his guests, he received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands that he could now muster 450 men: at the head of these daring veterans he was more than a match for the forces Pedrarias brought with him. But, though his troops murmured loudly at the injustice of the king in superseding their commander, and complained that strangers would now reap the fruits of their toil and success, Balboa submitted with implicit obedience to the will of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference he considered due to his character.



Though Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of the government to the moderation of Nunez, he appointed a judicial inquiry into his conduct, and imposed on him a considerable fine, on account of irregularities of which he regarded him as guilty. Sensibly did Balboa feel the mortification of being subjected to trial and punishment in a place where he had so lately occupied the first station. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of superior merit; so that the resentment of the one and the envy of the other gave rise to dissensions extremely detrimental to the colony. A violent and destructive malady also raged, a scarcity of provisions augmented the distress, and, in the space of a month, above six hundred persons perished in the utmost misery. Dejection and despair now spread through the colony. Many principal persons solicited their dismissal, and were glad to relinquish their hopes of wealth, to escape from such a pernicious region. To divert those who remained from brooding over their misfortunes, Pedrarias sent several detachments into the interior of the country, to levy gold among the natives, and to search for the mines in which it was produced. These rapacious adventurers, more intent on present gain than on the means of facilitating their future progress, plundered without distinction wherever they marched.

Regardless of the alliances which Balboa had made with several of the caciques, they stripped them of everything valuable, and treated them no less than their subjects with the utmost insolence and cruelty. By their tyranny and exactions, which Pedrarias, either from want of authority or inclination, did not restrain, all the country from the gulph of Darien to the lake of Nicaragua was desolated, and the Spaniards were inconsiderately deprived of the advantages which they might have derived from the friendship of the natives, in extending their conquests to the South Sea. Balboa, who saw with concern that such ill-judged proceedings retarded the execution of his favourite scheme, sent violent remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, which had ruined a happy and prosperous colony. On the other hand, Pedrarias accused Balboa of having deceived the king by magnifying his own exploits, as well as by a false representation of the opulence and value of the country.

At length Ferdinand became sensible of his imprudence in superseding the most active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and, by way of compensation to Balboa, appointed him adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time he enjoined Pedrarias to support Balboa in all his operations, and to consult with him concerning every measure which he himself pursued. But to effect a sudden transition from inveterate enmity to perfect confidence exceeded Ferdinand's power. Pedrarias continued to treat his rival with great neglect, and Balboa's fortune being exhausted by the payment of his fine and other exactions of Pedrarias, he could not make suitable preparations for taking possession of his new government.

At length, by the interposition and exhortations of the Bishop of Darien, they were partially reconciled, and Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa. The first effect of this concord



was, that Balboa was permitted to make several incursions into the country, which he conducted with so much prudence as to increase the reputation he had already acquired. Many adventurers resorted to him, and with the countenance and aid of Pedrarias he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea.

To accomplish this object it was necessary to build vessels capable of conveying the troops on whose power he depended. After surmounting many obstacles, and enduring a variety of hardships, he at length finished four brigantines. In these, with three hundred chosen men, he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he unexpectedly received a message from Pedrarias, whose ancient enmity was revived by the progress of his son-in-law. He dreaded the prosperity and elevation of a man whom he had so deeply injured; and suspecting that success would encourage Balboa to aim at independence of his jurisdiction, yielded himself to the passions of hatred, fear, and jealousy, and, to gratify his passions, scrupled not to defeat an enterprise of the greatest moment to his country. Under false but plausible pretexts, he desired Balboa to postpone his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Atla, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, utterly free from suspicion, instantly obeyed the summons, but as soon as he entered the place, he was arrested by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his vengeance, did not suffer him to languish long in confinement.

Immediately judges were appointed to proceed to his trial. An accusation of disloyalty to the king, and of an intention to revolt against the governor, was preferred against him. Sentence of death was pronounced; and though the judges who passed it, seconded by the whole colony, warmly interceded for his pardon, Pedrarias continued inexorable, and the Spaniards beheld with astonishment and sorrow the public execution of a man whom they universally deemed more capable than any who had borne command in America, of forming and accomplishing great designs. On his death the expedition which he had planned was relinquished. Notwithstanding the injustice and violence of his proceedings, Pedrarias was not only screened from punishment by the powerful patronage of the Bishop of Burgos and other courtiers, but continued in full power. Soon after he obtained permission to remove the colony from the unwholesome station of Santa Maria to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus; and, though it did not gain much of healthfulness by the change, the commodiousness of this new settlement contributed greatly to facilitate the subsequent conquests of the Spaniards in the extensive countries situated on the Southern Ocean.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CORTES AND THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

It has been truly observed that remarkable times call into activity and prominence remarkable men; of which remark the discovery of America offers many illustrations. Among the most conspicuous of those men was Hernan Cortes, who was born at Medellin, a small town of Extremadura, in 1485. Destined in early life to the bar, he

became disgusted with legal studies, and embraced the military profession, in the hope of distinguishing himself under the celebrated Gonsalvo de Cordova. This hope was disappointed by a dangerous malady, and on his restoration to health he directed his attention to the West Indies, at that time a source of wealth and of fame to the Spaniards.

On arriving at St. Domingo, when only nineteen years of age, he was kindly received by the Governor Ovando, who conferred on him several lucrative and honourable appointments, to which he attended for about seven years, when he accompanied Diego Velasquez in his expedition to the island of Cuba, where he became alcade of St. Jago, and discovered great ability on several trying occasions. With the ardour and activity of youth he combined great coolness and self-command. An opportunity was soon afforded for the exercise of all his powers.

Grijalva, a lieutenant of Velasquez, had just discovered Mexico, but he had not attempted to effect a settlement. He was therefore superseded by the Governor of Cuba, who was displeased at his conduct, and committed the conquest of the newly-found country to Cortes. Hastening his preparations, the latter set out from St. Jago on the 18th of November, 1518, with ten vessels, six or seven hundred Spaniards, eighteen horsemen, and several pieces of cannon. Scarcely, however, had he set sail, when Velasquez repented of his choice, and, fearing that his lieutenant would carry off all the glory and profit of the enterprize, recalled the commission which he had granted to Cortes, and even ordered him to be put under arrest; but so greatly was he beloved by the troops, that they enabled him to defeat all the designs of the governor, and he proceeded on his voyage.

As Cortes had determined to touch at every place which Grijalva had visited, he steered directly towards the island of Cozumel. There he happily redeemed Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language understood through a large extent of country, and, possessing besides a considerable share of prudence and sagacity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel Cortes proceeded to the river of Tabasco, in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of finding gold in the same abundance; but the disposition of the natives, from some unknown cause, was totally changed. After repeated endeavours to obtain their good will, he had recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed, with great slaughter, in several successive engagements. The loss which they sustained, and, still more, the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire-arms and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the King of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions, with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

Cortes continued his course to the westward, keeping as near the

shore as possible, in order to observe the country ; but could discover no proper place for landing until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulloa. As he entered this harbour, a large canoe full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his ship with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress at an event of which he instantly foresaw all the consequences, and already felt the hesitation and uncertainty with which he should carry on the great schemes which he meditated, if, in his transactions with the natives, he must depend entirely upon such an imperfect, ambiguous, and conjectural mode of communication as the use of signs. But he did not remain long in his embarrassing situation ; a fortunate accident extricated him, when his own sagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cacique of Tabasco, happened to be present at the first interview between Cortes and his new guest. She perceived his distress, as well as the confusion of Aguilar ; and, as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they had said in the Lucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, and who makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the new world, where great revolutions were brought about by small causes and inconsiderable instruments, was born in one of the provinces of the Mexican empire. Having been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, after a variety of adventures she fell into the hands of the Tabascans, and had resided long enough among them to acquire their language without losing her own. Though it was both tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was highly pleased with having discovered this method of carrying on some intercourse with the people of a country into which he was determined to penetrate.

He now learned that the two persons whom he had received on board his ship were deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, two officers intrusted with the government of that province by a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting this coast, and to offer him whatever assistance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of the message, assured them, in respectful terms, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for an answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery ; and having chosen ground he considered suitable, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they had ere long good reason to repent.

Next day Teutile and Pilpatoe entered the Spanish camp with a



numerous retinue ; and Cortes, considering them as the ministers of a great monarch, entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accustomed to pay the petty caciques with whom they had intercourse in the isles, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment that he could impart them to none but the emperor Montezuma himself, and therefore required them to conduct him, without loss of time, into the presence of their master. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request which they knew would be disagreeable, and which they foresaw might prove extremely embarrassing to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions ever since the former appearance of the Spaniards on his coasts. But before they attempted to dissuade Cortes from insisting on his demand, they endeavoured to conciliate his good-will by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves of Montezuma, they laid at his feet. These were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloths, of plumes of various colours, and of ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value, the workmanship of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich.

The display of these produced an effect very different from what the Mexicans intended. Instead of satisfying, it increased the avidity of the Spaniards, and rendered them so eager and impatient to become masters of a country which abounded with such precious productions, that Cortes could hardly listen with patience to the arguments which Pilpatoe and Teutile employed to dissuade him from visiting the capital, and in a haughty, determined tone, he insisted on his demand of being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign. During this interview, some painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, the horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a more lively idea of the strange and wonderful objects now presented to their view, than any words could communicate, he resolved to render the representation still more animated and interesting, by exhibiting such a spectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets, by his order, sounded an alarm ; the troops in a moment formed in order of battle ; the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their various weapons ; the horse, in various evolutions, gave a specimen of their agility and strength ; the artillery pointed towards the thick woods which surrounded the camp, were fired, and made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with that silent amazement which is natural when the mind is struck with objects which are both awful and inscrutable ; but at the explosion of the cannon many of them fled, some fell to the ground, and all were so

much confounded at the sight of men whose power so nearly resembled that of the gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compose and reassure them. The painters had now many new objects on which to exercise their art, and they put their fancy on the stretch in order to invent figures and symbols to represent the extraordinary things which they had seen.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma with those pictures, and a full account of everything that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards; and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma, which, though of no great value, he believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarch, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their extensive empire, had introduced a refinement in police unknown at that time in Europe. He had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and as these were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate distances, they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity. Though the capital in which Montezuma resided was above one hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, Cortes' presents were carried thither, and an answer to his demands was received, in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to all the schemes and wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had previously endeavoured to soothe and mollify him. For this purpose they renewed their negotiation, by introducing a train of an hundred Indians loaded with presents sent to him by Montezuma.

The magnificence of these was such as became a great monarch, and far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed on mats, spread on the ground, in such order as showed them to the best advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed with admiration the various manufactures of the country: cotton-stuffs so fine, and of such delicate texture, as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance, as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their eyes were two large plates of a circular form: one of massive gold, representing the sun; the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and, that nothing might be wanting that could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed. But when the Mexicans, presuming upon this, informed him that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of regard for that monarch whom Cortes represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer



in his dominions, the Spanish general declared, in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not, without dishonour, return to his own country, until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in the name of his sovereign. The Mexicans, astonished at seeing any man dare to oppose that will which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open rupture with such formidable enemies, prevailed with Cortes to promise that he would not move from his present camp, until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions.

The firmness with which Cortes adhered to his original proposal should naturally have brought the negotiation between him and Montezuma to a speedy issue, as it seemed to leave the Mexican no choice but either to receive him with confidence as a friend, or to oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of extensive power. The Mexican empire at this period had attained a pitch of grandeur to which no society ever rose in so short a period. Though it had subsisted, according to their own traditions, only a hundred and thirty years, its dominion extended, from the North to the South Sea, over territories stretching, with some small interruption, above five hundred leagues from east to west, and more than two hundred from north to south, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population, and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterprising; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues considerable. If, with the forces which might have been suddenly assembled in such an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren, unhealthy, coast, unsupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, it seems impossible that, even with all the advantages of their superiority, discipline, and arms, they could have stood the shock, and they must either have perished in such an unequal contest or have abandoned the enterprise.

As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own dispositions were such as seemed naturally to prompt him to do so. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigour; but they were impressed with such an opinion of his capacity as commanded their respect; and, by many victories of the latter, he had spread far the dread of his arms, and had added several considerable provinces to his dominions. But though his talents might be suited to the transactions of a state so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, and sufficient to conduct them while in their accustomed course, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the discernment, or to act with the decision requisite in so trying an emergency.

From the instant that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he exhibited symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking



such resolutions as the consciousness of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits might have inspired, he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure of Montezuma's mind upon this occasion, as well as the general dismay of his subjects, were not owing wholly to the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms. Their origin may be traced up to a more remote source. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earliest and most authentic Spanish historians, almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country. Whether this disquieting apprehension flowed from the memory of some natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impressed the minds of the inhabitants with superstitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally suggested by the astonishment which the first sight of a new race of men occasioned, it is impossible to determine. But as the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected by the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity instantly represented as the instrument destined to bring about this fatal revolution which they dreaded. Under these circumstances it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire and all his subjects.

Notwithstanding the influence of this impression, when the messenger arrived from the Spanish camp with an account that the leader of the strangers, adhering to his original demand, refused to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma assumed some degree of resolution, and in a transport of rage, natural to a fierce prince unaccustomed to meet with any opposition to his will, he threatened to sacrifice those presumptuous men to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned, and instead of issuing orders to carry his threats into execution, he again called his ministers to confer and offer their advice. Feeble and temporising measures will always be the result when men assemble to deliberate in a situation where they ought to act. The Mexican counsellors took no effectual measure for expelling such troublesome intruders, and were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they preposterously accompanied with a present of such value as proved a fresh inducement to remain.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were not without solicitude, or a variety of sentiments, in deliberating concerning their own future conduct. From what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas concerning the opulence of the country, that, despising danger or hardships when they had in view treasures which appeared to be inexhaustible, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others, estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, and enumerating the various proofs which had occurred of its being under a well regulated administration, contended that it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state with a small body of men in

want of provisions, unconnected with any ally, and already enfeebled by the diseases peculiar to the climate, and the loss of several of their number. Cortes secretly applauded the advocates for bold measures, cherished their romantic hopes, as such ideas corresponded with his own, and favoured the execution of the schemes which he had formed. From the time that the suspicions of Velasquez broke out with open violence in the attempts to deprive him of the command, Cortes saw the necessity of dissolving a connexion which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations, and watched for an opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he had laboured by every art to secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers. With his abilities for command, it was easy to gain their esteem; and his followers were quickly satisfied that they might rely with perfect confidence on the conduct and courage of their leader. Nor was it more difficult to acquire their affection. Among adventurers of nearly the same rank, and serving at their own expense, the dignity of command did not elevate a general above mingling with those who acted under him. Cortes availed himself of this freedom of intercourse to insinuate himself into their favour, and by his affable manners, by well-timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, a thing which was contrary to the orders of Velasquez, he attached the greater part of his soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority and at the expense of another.

In the meantime Teutile arrived with the ultimate order of the monarch, to depart instantly out of his dominions; and on Cortes renewing his demand for an audience, the Mexican indignantly quitted the camp. On the following morning, none of the natives, who had previously come in great numbers to barter, appeared; and it seemed probable that hostilities would immediately commence. This, though it might have been easily foreseen, induced the adherents of Velasquez to murmur and cabal at the attempts of Cortes to conquer so vast an empire, and they accordingly appointed one of their number to urge the commander to return to Cuba to refit the fleet and augment the army. Having represented this to be the wish of the whole force, Cortes listened without betraying any emotion; knowing well the temper of his soldiers, and foreseeing that this would be fatal to the splendour of their hopes and schemes, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to be perfectly willing to comply with their request, and issued orders that the army should be ready to re-embark for Cuba next day. As soon as this was known, the disappointed adventurers gave vent to their displeasure in exclamations and threats aloud; the emissaries of Cortes, mingling with them, inflamed their rage, and the camp, almost in a state of mutiny, loudly demanded to see their commander. Cortes speedily appeared; upon which officers and soldiers, with one voice, expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders they had just received. They said that it was unworthy of Castilian courage to fly at the first appearance of danger; that they were resolved not to relinquish an attempt which had hitherto been so successful, and which would so beneficially spread their religion, and promote the



glory and interest of their country; that they would joyfully follow him through every danger in quest of those settlements and treasures which he had so long held out to their view; and that if he timidly chose to return to Cuba, and give up all his hopes of distinction and opulence, they would choose another commander to conduct them to the path of glory which he had not the spirit to enter.

Cortes was delighted with their ardour;—as their sentiments were what he himself had inspired, and the warmth of their expression convinced him that they had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected to be surprised at what he had heard, declaring that out of deference to what he considered was their opinion, he had sacrificed his own private inclination, and given the orders for embarkation; that he was now convinced of his error; and, as he perceived that they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume with fresh ardour his original plan, and doubted not to conduct them, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valour merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified the excess of their joy; such even as secretly disapproved of it were obliged to join in the public acclamations.

Without allowing his men time to cool or to reflect, Cortes set about carrying his design into execution. He accordingly constituted by the suffrage of the principal persons in the army a form of civil government, on the model of a Spanish corporation. The magistrates were distinguished by the same names and ensigns of office, and were to exercise a similar jurisdiction. All the persons chosen were most firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of the election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependance on Velasquez.

The first meeting of the new council was distinguished by a transaction of great moment. As soon as it was assembled, Cortes applied for leave to enter; and approaching with many marks of profound respect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and set an example of reverence for its authority, he began a long harangue. In this address, he stated with much art, and in terms extremely flattering to persons just entering upon their new function, that as the supreme jurisdiction which they had planted was now vested in that court, that it would be unlawful for him to maintain any longer his authority; that he should consider them as the representatives of his sovereign; that such was his zeal for the service in which they were engaged, that he would most cheerfully take up a pike with the same hand that laid down the general's truncheon, and convince his fellow-soldiers that, though accustomed to command, he had not forgotten how to obey. Having finished his discourse, he laid down the commission from Velasquez upon the table, and, after kissing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magistrate, and withdrew.

The deliberations of the council were not long, as Cortes had concerted this important measure with his confidants, and had prepared the other members, with great address, for the part which he wished them to take. His resignation was accepted; and as the uninterrupted tenor of their prosperity under his conduct afforded the most satisfying evidence of his abilities for command, they, by their unani-



mous suffrage, elected him chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of its army, and appointed his commission to be made out in the king's name, with most ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal pleasure should be further known. The soldiers, with eager applause ratified the choice which the council had made; the air resounded with the name of Cortes, and all vowed to shed their blood in support of his authority.

Cortes, having thus risen in rank, from the deputy of a subject to the representative of a sovereign, asserted his authority with vigour, and, partly by rigour and partly by the plentiful use of the Mexican gold, completed his ascendancy over the authority of Velasquez.

Cortes having thus rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, was encouraged to throw off any dependence on the governor of Cuba, and advance into the country; and to this he was encouraged by an event which was deemed both fortunate and reasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were introduced into his presence. He found that they were sent with a proffer of friendship from the cacique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance; and from them he found that their master, though subject to Montezuma, was filled with such dread and hatred of him, that nothing could be more acceptable than any prospect of deliverance from the oppression under which he groaned. Cortes was not slow in perceiving that the great empire which he intended to attack was neither perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved; and thinking that similar feelings might exist in other parts of the kingdom, and that the malcontents would readily join his standard, he gave a most gracious reception to the Zempoallians, and promised soon to visit their cacique.

Some officers having discovered a village named Quiabisan, about forty miles to the northward, which, for several reasons, seemed more advantageous for a settlement than their present locality, Cortes determined to move thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, and the cacique received him with the greatest kindness, and with respect almost amounting to adoration. He learned from him many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances which rendered his dominion odious. The cacique represented his monarch as a tyrant, haughty, cruel, and suspicious, who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by excessive exactions, and conducted himself in the most violent and tyrannical manner. Cortes artfully insinuated that one of his chief objects was the redress of grievances, and having encouraged him to hope for his interposition, in due time he left for Quiabisan.

Having found a spot admirably adapted for a town, Cortes diligently set to work to construct the houses, which were, in fact, only huts, but were to be surrounded by fortifications sufficient to resist the assaults of an Indian army. Being assisted by the neighbouring Indians, this was easily effected. While employed in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the caciques of Zempoalla and Quiabisan; and having availed himself of their astonishment at the numerous wonders he had to show them, he inspired them with such high ideas of the powers of the Spaniards as led them, relying

upon him, openly to insult the Mexican power. Having thus rebelled, they had no hope of safety but in attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards, and they formally acknowledged themselves to be vassals of the same monarch. Their example was followed by a fierce people called the Totonagues, who offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, to Mexico.

Some soldiers and sailors, secretly attached to Velasquez, or intimidated at the prospect of the dangers before them, formed the design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give information to the governor, so as to enable him to intercept the ship that was to carry treasure and despatches from Cortes to Spain. Fortunately for their commander, at the moment when everything was ready for execution, they were betrayed by one of their associates. The discovery of this conspiracy showed to Cortes, that the spirit of disaffection still lurked among his troops, which, on any slight reverse of fortune, would oblige him to relinquish the expedition. With these things pressing on his mind, he determined to destroy the fleet, and thus reduce them all to the adoption of the same resolution with himself, either to conquer or to perish. In the most artful manner he brought his soldiers to think with him, and having succeeded fully in this, by universal consent the ships were drawn ashore, and having been deprived of whatever might be of use, they were broken in pieces.

In the year 1519, Cortes began his march from Zempoalla, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica. The cacique of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with Indians whose office was to carry burdens, and to perform all servile labour, who greatly relieved the Spanish soldiers in carrying their baggage, and dragging along the artillery. He offered likewise a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred. Nothing memorable occurred until he arrived on the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province were fierce, warlike, and high spirited, though less advanced in civilization than the subjects of Montezuma, to whom they were implacable enemies, and had been united in an ancient alliance with the caciques of Zempoalla. Cortes, though he had received information of the martial character of this people, flattered himself that his professions of delivering the oppressed from the tyranny of Montezuma, might induce them to grant him a friendly reception. But instead of the favourable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and, without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders if they should attempt to pass through their country by force of arms. They concluded, from Cortes's proposal of visiting Montezuma in his capital, that, notwithstanding all his professions, he courted the friendship of a monarch whom they both hated and feared. In addition to this, they despised the small number of the Spaniards; as they had not yet measured their own strength with that of these new enemies, they had no



idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

Cortes having waited some days in vain for the return of his ambassadors, advanced into the Tlascalan territory, where he found their troops in the field, who attacked him with great intrepidity; and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards and killed two horses—a loss, in their situation, of great moment, as it was irreparable. After this Cortes proceeded with more caution, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care,—measures which were highly necessary, as, for fourteen days, the Tlascalans continued their almost uninterrupted assaults, with a degree of perseverance and valour of which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World. Though this very warlike people brought into the field armies which appear, as regards their numbers, sufficient to overwhelm the Spaniards, their want of military order and discipline, with their constant solicitude to carry off the dead and wounded, prevented their making any permanent impression on their enemies. In addition to this, their very defective weapons, though used with the greatest courage, were insufficient to penetrate the quilted jackets which the soldiers wore, so that though many of the Spaniards were wounded none were killed. The Tlascalans also, in accordance with their custom, gave their enemies due notice of their attacks, and also sent them a large supply of poultry and maize, as they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed on such emaciated prey.

After the ill success they had experienced in their numerous conflicts; notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had no small opinion; and finding that the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners they took, not only without injury but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory; this lenity amazed the people, who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle; and the whole of these circumstances induced them to conclude a peace desired with equal ardour by both parties.

The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. This treaty was concluded at a very seasonable time for the Spaniards, as the incessant conflicts, the want of many necessaries, combined with the prevalence of the distempers so frequent in hot countries, and the vast numbers of their enemies, had caused many to despond, which in some amounted almost to despair; but the submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the capital city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a superior order, banished the memory of past sufferings, and dispelling every anxious thought, fully satisfied them that there was not now any power in America able to withstand their arms.

Cortes remained twenty days in Tlascala, in order to allow his troops a short interval of repose after such hard service; and employed his time in obtaining information of the state of the Mexican empire, and



in conciliating and obtaining the esteem of their new allies, who now regarded them with veneration as great as their former hatred. This great advantage, however, was very nearly lost by a new effusion of that intemperate zeal with which Cortes, like other adventurers of his time, was animated. He explained to the Tlascalans some of the chief doctrines of the Christian religion, and began to insist on their embracing them; but they, on the other hand, contended that their *Teules* were divinities no less than the God in whom the Spaniard believed. Cortes, nevertheless, continued to urge his demand—mingling threats with his arguments—until the Tlascalans could bear it no longer, and conjured him never to mention this again, lest the gods should avenge on their heads the guilt of having listened to such a proposition. Cortes, astonished and enraged at their obstinacy, was going to execute by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion; and prepared to overturn their altars, and cast down their idols, with a violent hand, if Father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not wisely checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. Having shown him the folly of enraging a large city filled with people equally warlike and superstitious, he declared that religion should not be propagated by the sword, or infidels converted by violence, and advocated the true principle of independence of conscience. The remonstrances of an ecclesiastic no less respectable for wisdom than virtue, had their proper weight with Cortes.

As Cortes was accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, he had now the command of forces which resembled a regular army. They directed their course towards Cholula, Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, having informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Having been warned by the Tlascalans, before he set out on his march, to keep a watchful eye over the Cholulans, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, Cortes observed several circumstances which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, having found means to enter in disguise, acquainted him that they observed the women and children of the principal citizens retiring in great hurry every night, and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple, a rite which indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise to be approaching. At the same time, Marina, the interpreter, received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricaded, and, in others, pits or deep trenches were dug and slightly covered over, as traps into which the horses might fall; that stones or missive weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests, and extorted from them a confession that confirmed the intelligence which he had received. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly resolved to intercept his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Monte-

Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose, the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; and the magistrates and several of the chief citizens were sent for, under various pretexts, and seized. On a signal being given, the troops rushed out and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons dropping from their hands, they stood motionless, and incapable of defence. While the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some of the leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; during which the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies, could inflict. At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard.

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico, which was only twenty leagues distant. In every place through which he passed he was received as a person possessed of sufficient power to deliver the empire from the oppression under which it groaned, and the caciques, or governors, communicated to him all the grievances which they suffered under Montezuma. In descending from the mountains of Chalco, across which the road lay, the vast plain of Mexico opened gradually to their view. When they first beheld this prospect—one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they observed fertile and cultivated fields stretching further than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some believed the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; while others could hardly persuade themselves that this wonderful spectacle was anything more than a dream. As they advanced their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themselves that at length they should obtain an ample recompense for all their services and sufferings.

Many messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next day to retire, as his hopes and fears alternately predominated; and so extraordinary were his resolutions, that Cortes was at the gates of the capital before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend or oppose him as an enemy. When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons advanced with the greatest pomp, and individually saluted Cortes in the most respectful manner. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their gaudiest apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter, richly ornamented with gold and feathers of various colours. Four of his principal favourites



carried him on their shoulders; others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. Montezuma saluted him with the utmost respect, insomuch that the condescension of ordinarily so proud a monarch most fully impressed the people with the idea of the Spaniards being divinities. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," says he, "with your brothers in your own house. Refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted for their lodging was surrounded by a stone wall with towers at proper distances, and its apartments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, and to enjoin on his numerous sentinels the strictest vigilance.

In the evening Montezuma returned in a similar manner, and brought presents of such value to every one of his followers as showed both the liberality of the monarch and the opulence of his kingdom. Cortes had a long conference with the monarch, in which the latter informed them that their coming perfectly agreed with an ancient tradition of the Mexicans, of the founder of their colony promising that his descendants should visit them, and reform their constitution and assume the government, and desired that the Spaniards should consider themselves as masters in his dominions, for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to anticipate their wishes. Cortes replied in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and made his speech coincide with the tradition he had just heard.

Notwithstanding all this, Cortes was the subject of the most anxious solicitude with respect to his own position. The Tlascalans had warned him, and attempted to dissuade him from entering Mexico, where Montezuma would have him at his mercy, shut up as if in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape; by breaking down certain bridges, and in several other ways, they might be cooped up in a hostile city, surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm them, and without any means of receiving aid from their allies. They were also dependent upon a man whose promises, if they were sincere, might not be continued. Cortes now fully saw that from an excess of confidence in the superior valour and discipline of his troops, as well as from the defective information which he had received, he had pushed forward into a situation where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was almost certain ruin to retire. He felt that the slightest symptom of timidity would let loose upon them the whole force of the empire. The situation was trying, but his mind was not depressed, and he fixed upon a plan, no less extraordinary than daring, which was, to seize Montezuma, and keep him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters, and with so sacred a pledge in his hands he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence.

At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers, and as many



soldiers. He and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a very different tone to the one he had previously employed, and having made several charges against him, stated that his soldiers would never be satisfied of his innocence if he did not show his confidence and attachment by taking up his residence for some time in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honoured as became a great monarch. Montezuma was deprived of speech, and almost of motion, by so strange a proposition. At length, indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "that persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give themselves up as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavoured alternately to soothe and intimidate him. The altercation became warm, and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed, with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him, or instantly stab him to the heart." Montezuma's danger was imminent; the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and, abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

His officers, though astonished and afflicted, presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp to the Spanish quarters. The people, on hearing of this, broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction. But on the appearance of Montezuma, with a seeming gaiety of countenance, and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed. On his arrival at the Spanish camp he was watched with the utmost care, although he was attended by his own officers, and carried on every function of government. Notwithstanding this, he was subjected to the cruel indignity of seeing his son, and five of his principal officers, who had only acted a patriotic part, burnt to death, on a pile formed of the arms collected in the royal magazine for the public safety. By this and other acts the spirit of Montezuma was completely subdued; and, though carrying on the government in just the same way as before, allowed to frequent the temples, and even to go a hunting, a guard of a few Spaniards was quite sufficient to secure the captive monarch.

Cortes availed himself of his now extensive power to send some of his officers, accompanied by some of the servants of Montezuma, and with the royal authority, to visit the different provinces, to find out the districts which yielded gold or silver, and were best adapted for settlements. Encouraged by so many instances of the monarch's tame submission to his will, Cortes urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself the vassal of the King of Spain, and to subject his dominions to an annual tribute. Even to this request Montezuma acceded, and having called together his chief men, informed them he had done so. The broken spirited monarch's request was reluctantly and sorrowfully obeyed by them, with all the formalities enjoined by their dreaded masters.

The Spaniards now collected all the treasure which had been amassed, and which amounted to about six hundred thousand *pesos*. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided, but were extremely discontented to find, on account of the large sums laid by for the crown and the officers, that their share only amounted to a hundred *pesos*. But however pliant Montezuma was, in one respect he was inflexible; and, notwithstanding the headstrong and ridiculous zeal of Cortes, he refused to embrace the profession of the Christian faith. Finding the monarch so obstinate, he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols by violence; but on finding the extreme rage of the Mexicans, he desisted. They now arranged with their sovereign measures for destroying the Spaniards, who were accordingly ordered to depart, under penalty of destruction. Cortes, meanwhile, was extremely anxious concerning the confirmation of his authority by the King of Spain, as without this he might be seized as a traitor. He was, however, delighted to find a new armament arrived; but his joy was turned into dismay when he learned that it was fitted out by Velasquez, on purpose to destroy him as having acted in so treacherous a manner. As this army was very far larger than his own, and the Mexicans were joyfully acknowledging Narvaez (the commander of Velasquez) as their deliverer from the oppression of Cortes, he was now well assured that the only way to succeed was by overcoming the opposite party. Cortes, having arranged all necessary matters with the greatest cunning, marched against Narvaez, and, by attacking him in the night, and other stratagems, conquered him, though with the loss of but few soldiers on either side, and even induced almost all his antagonist's soldiers to join with him. Thus was this most unscrupulous, but singularly successful general again saved from what seemed overwhelming danger. If these measures had not been so speedily accomplished, the garrison left at Mexico must have been destroyed by the enraged inhabitants; but this was prevented by the return of Cortes. On the repassing of the army through the Mexican territories, they found the feeling subsisting towards them entirely changed, and that the most deeply-rooted antipathy had succeeded. The joy of the meeting of Cortes with the garrison left at Mexico was excessive; but it was speedily cooled by the impetuous attacks of the Mexicans, who advanced with the most undaunted courage, though rank after rank was successively cut down; and it was only by the utmost exertions of Cortes and his soldiers that their fortress was not taken. The general now prepared his troops for a sally on the following day, which might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to come to terms. But in this he was unsuccessful, and equally so in another conflict soon after, which induced him to see what effect the influence of Montezuma would have on his people; and he was accordingly brought, in regal costume, to the battlements, where he endeavoured to soothe the Mexicans, and to keep them from hostilities; but, so great was their indignation, that a shower of arrows was the only reply, two of which struck the unhappy monarch, who soon after ended his days by refusing any nourishment, as he scorned to survive this last humiliation.



Cortes, after another conflict, determined to leave the city, and, thinking it best to retire unseen, if possible, did so at midnight; but having proceeded some distance, he and his soldiers were suddenly alarmed to find themselves surrounded by their enemies. Only about half of the soldiers, with little treasure, and no baggage or ammunition, escaped, and they with great difficulty retreated to Otumba, where, however, fresh enemies appeared drawn up in almost incredible numbers, and there seemed nothing to be done but to conquer or to die. After the Spaniards were almost exhausted, they were again saved through the instrumentality of Cortes, and were received joyfully by the Tlascalans. Cortes, however, did not despair; but, having received reinforcements from various sources, he was still resolved on the subjection of the Mexican empire to the crown of Castile.

Both the Mexicans and the Spaniards made every preparation for the ensuing siege, and the latter constructed, under the most discouraging circumstances, thirteen brigantines, without which they now knew it would be useless to attempt the reduction of that great city. In due time the siege was begun, which lasted for seventy-five days, and after numerous, repeated, and varied attacks, in which hundreds were butchered, the city surrendered. The exultation of the Spaniards was somewhat damped on finding that the wealth, which they considered to be inexhaustible, had been partly carried off, and a vast deal thrown to the bottom of the lake; and, to the excessive vexation of some, the share that fell to them was utterly insignificant.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted, one after another, to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards, marching through them without interruption, penetrated in various directions. Cortes, with much difficulty, at last succeeded in getting the full support of his sovereign, and was appointed Captain-General and Governor of New Spain. He therefore diligently set to work to re-build Mexico, and arranged the affairs of the country with the greatest care. The natives, roused by the cruelties of the Spaniards, repeatedly took up arms against their oppressors, but were uniformly unsuccessful, and the records of the world are sullied in an unusual degree by the wanton barbarity and the atrocious cruelty of the conquerors; wherever they went their path was marked with blood. Many persons having carried to Spain the information that Cortes was intending to assume the command in Mexico independently of his sovereign, and this idea having gained ground at court, he was obliged to repair to Spain, where he was very honourably received. He returned, however, to America with much diminished powers; charged only with the command of the military department, the direction of the civil affairs being entrusted to a board, called "The Audience of New Spain." As he had no opportunity of displaying his active talents but in attempting new discoveries, he sent out several marine expeditions, which proved unsuccessful, except one, which discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain.

Being weary of contesting with the board which had taken so much power from him, and disgusted at the many unfruitful expeditions he



had made, he once more sought his native country ; but his reception there was very different from what he considered his singular services merited ; and, indeed, his former exploits seemed entirely forgotten. Cortes dissembled, redoubled the assiduity of his attendance on the emperor, accompanied him on his disastrous expedition to Algiers in 1541, served as a volunteer, and had a horse killed under him. This was his last appearance in the field, and, had his advice been followed, the Spanish arms would have been saved from disgrace, and Europe delivered nearly three centuries earlier from the scourge of organized piracy.

Soon after the expedition to Algiers, Cortes fell into neglect, and could scarcely obtain an audience. One day, however, forcing his way through the crowd that surrounded the emperor's carriage, he mounted on the door-step, and Charles, astonished at so audacious an act, demanded to know who he was ? "I am a man," proudly replied the Mexican conqueror, "who has given you more provinces than your ancestors left you cities." This act completed the sum of his offences, and Cortes, overwhelmed with disgust, withdrew from court, passed the remainder of his days in solitude, and died near Seville, in the sixty-third year of his age, on the 2nd of December, 1554.

In closing this deeply-affecting narrative, we are reminded of the words of Cowper :—

"While Cook is loved for savage lives he saved,  
See Cortes odious for a world enslaved,  
Where wast thou then sweet Charity, where then,  
Thou tutelary friend of helpless men ?  
Wast thou in monkish cells and nunneries found,  
Or building hospitals on English ground ?  
No ; Mammon makes the world his regatee,  
Through tear, not love, and heaven abhors the fee.  
Wherever found (and all men need thy care)  
Nor age nor infancy could find thee there.  
The hand that slew till it could slay no more,  
Was glued to the sword-hilt with Indian gore.  
Their prince, as justly seated on his throne,  
As vain imperial Philip on his own,  
Tricked out of all his royalty by art,  
That stripp'd him bare and broke his honest heart,  
Died by the sentence of a shaven priest,  
For scorning what they taught him to detest.  
How dark the veil that intercepts the blaze  
Of heaven's mysterious purposes and ways  
God stood not, though he seem'd to stand, aloof,  
And at this hour the conqueror feels the proof,  
The wreath he won drew down an instant curse,  
The fretting plague is in the public purse,  
The canker'd spoil corrodes the pining state,  
Starved by that indolence their minds create.  
Oh ! could their ancient Incas rise again,  
How would they take up Israel's taunting strain.  
Art thou, too, fallen, Iberia ? Do we see  
The robber and the murderer weak as we ?  
Thou that hast wasted earth, and dared despise  
Alike the wrath and mercy of the skies,  
Thy pomp is in the grave, thy glory laid  
Low in the pits thine avarice has made.

We come with joy from our eternal rest,  
 To see the oppressor in his turn oppress'd.  
 Art thou the God, the thunder of whose hand  
 Roll'd over all our desolated land,  
 Shook principalities and kingdoms down,  
 And made the mountains tremble at his frown?  
 The sword shall light upon thy boasted powers,  
 And waste them, as thy sword has wasted ours.  
 'Tis thus Omnipotence his law fulfils,  
 And vengeance executes what justice wills.

## CHAPTER XII.

### PIZARRO AND THE DISCOVERY OF PERU.

MANY schemes were formed, and some unsuccessfully carried out, for the discovery of the rich countries which were supposed to exist to the east of Panama since the time that Nunez de Balboa, in his voyage to the Southern Ocean, received the first obscure hints of their existence. But there were three persons who, when everybody else had given up the idea in despair, resolved to attempt the execution of this scheme; their names were, Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. The two former were of very low birth, being bred in the camp, though both distinguished for bravery and other soldier-like qualities; and the latter was an ecclesiastic who had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to great eminence. These formed a confederacy which was authorised by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama.

Their first attempt, which was on a small scale, was attended with little success, owing to their very limited knowledge of the neighbouring countries. They, however, determined to renew the attempt, but it was with great difficulty that they could obtain a reinforcement, on account of the difficulties they had already met with. A new governor of Panama, having succeeded Pedrarias, he gave orders for the return of Pizarro, his continuance appeared to be dangerous for so young a colony. Pizarro, however, peremptorily refused to obey the governor's orders, and only thirteen of his soldiers had the spirit and enterprise to remain with him. After five dreary months, spent on an unhealthy island, they were overjoyed on the arrival of a vessel from Panama. They now stood towards the north-east, and, on the twentieth day, discovered the coast of Peru, where Pizarro found natives far more civilized than any he had yet seen in the New World, and a profusion of gold and silver. He accordingly returned to Panama, to obtain a sufficient supply of followers, and entreated the governor to authorise the undertaking, but he was inflexible. Pizarro was sent to Spain to endeavour to get authority from his sovereign, and such an impression was made on the court as caused them highly to approve the adventurers' schemes. He, however, presuming on this, neglected his associates and procured the supreme command for himself.

Having returned to America, he set sail for Peru, though, after having renewed the confederacy, his whole force only amounted to three vessels and a hundred and eighty soldiers. After a

prosperous voyage, he attacked, without the slightest provocation, many small places on the coast of Peru, and gained a considerable quantity of valuable goods. He despatched some of the rich spoil to Panama, by which means he obtained a reinforcement of thirty men. Pizarro now began to advance into the Peruvian country. Here he and his people learned that this part of the world was governed by the Incas, who were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities; as, according to their traditions, they were descended from the sun, and were therefore not allowed to intermarry and so mingle their blood with that of any other people.

The march from San Miguel, where Pizarro had taken up his quarters, to Caxamarca, the city of the monarch, is one of the most extraordinary on record. It was accomplished by less than 200 men, horse and foot, over an extensive country, thickly inhabited, across rivers and lakes, through vast forests, and over stupendous mountains—the great majority of the soldiers only knowing that their commander was leading them to a camp of 50,000 valiant warriors, under the eyes of the king of the land, whom recent events had proved to be anything but scrupulous in his modes of winning power and commanding obedience. It was therefore not surprising that when they had advanced but a short distance, murmurs and discontents began to prevail. Pizarro silenced them by a summary proceeding. Assembling his men, he declared that a crisis had now arrived which it required all their courage to meet. No man should think of going forward in the expedition who could not do so with his whole heart, or who had the slightest misgiving of success. If any repented of his share in it, it was not too late to turn back; San Miguel was but poorly garrisoned, and he should be glad to see it in better strength. Those who chose might return, and they should be entitled to the same proportion of land and Indian vassals as the present residents. With the rest, whether few or many, who chose to take their chance with him, he should pursue the adventure to the end. Only nine availed themselves of the general's permission. Four of these belonged to the infantry, and five to the horse. The rest loudly declared their resolve to follow their leader. "Lead on!" they shouted; "lead on, wherever you think best; we will follow with good will, and you shall see that we can do our duty." And they prepared to cross the gigantic steppes of the Andes.

The ascent of these mighty mountains was accomplished with difficulty, but with little loss. The descent was easy and rapid, and they came in sight of Caxamarca, shining like a golden city in the dark skirts of the sierra; while, sloping along the surrounding hills to a vast distance, a white cloud of pavilions was seen covering the ground, "as thick," it is said, "as snow flakes." It filled the adventurers with amazement to behold the Indians occupying so high a position. The spectacle caused not a little confusion, also, and even fear in the stoutest hearts. But it was too late to turn back or betray the least sign of weakness. With as bold a countenance as they could assume, they descended from the heights, and entered the deserted city on the afternoon of the 15th of November, 1532.

Pizarro now sent two of his officers to confirm the declaration of



peace intentions, and to desire an interview with the Inca Atahualpa. The messengers having returned, and giving a glowing description of the wealth they had seen, Pizarro was confirmed in the idea which he had already perfidiously formed. Knowing well the advantage of having the Inca in his power, and remembering the example of Cortes, he formed a plan as daring as it was revoltingly treacherous.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. As the Inca was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations were so tedious that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intentions might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro shamelessly despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached, dressed in the richest manner, and accompanied with not less than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, the chaplain to the expedition advanced, and in a long discourse explained to him the leading points in the Christian religion, as held by Romanists, required the Emperor to embrace their faith, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the King of Castile, and followed these requirements with the most dreadful threats if he refused to comply. To this strange harangue, which he, of course, only partially understood, the Inca replied with great moderation, but refused to accede to such demands. With regard to some of the things contained in the discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," said the chaplain, holding out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear. "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it, with disdain, on the ground. The enraged monk, instantly running towards his countryman, cried out: "To arms, Christians, to arms! the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs!"

Pizarro now gave the signal of assault; at once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, and the infantry rushed on, sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness and strangeness of the attack, fled with universal consternation, without attempting either offensive or defensive measures. Pizarro, at the head of a chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and, notwithstanding the devotion of many of his nobles, they succeeded in dragging him to the ground, and taking him prisoner to their quarters. The Spaniards, without the slightest loss to their number, butchered, in the most revolting manner, four thousand of the unresisting Peruvians.

The Inca, as may be easily supposed, was exceedingly dejected, and soon discovered the ruling passion of his faithless tyrants. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment

in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth, and he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa, the imprisoned Inca, being afraid that his brother, whom he had recently subdued, might promise to exceed this offer, and render certain his own destruction, gave orders for him to be murdered, which was accordingly done. In due time the enormous mass of gold stipulated for was accumulated, and after setting aside one-fifth as due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donation to the soldiers who had just arrived, there remained 1,528,500 pesos to Pizarro and his followers; and at that time pesos were not inferior in effective value to as many pounds sterling in the present century. The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted that they should fulfil their promise; but to do this Pizarro peremptorily and vilely refused, as nothing was further from his thoughts.

Almagro, from covetous motives, urged that the Inca should be put to death; and Pizarro, for other reasons, desired it also. But in order to give the execution some colour of justice, he resolved to try Atahualpa with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Though the charges were all unjust—some of them so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice and cruelty, this infamous assembly, pronounced the Inca guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Pizarro ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and, what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument the friar employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; when Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake!

As so many of the blood-royal had been slain by Atahualpa, the people, after his death, seemed to have lost their previous reverence for them, and the government fell into a very lax condition. The report of the triumphs of Pizarro, and the wealth of Peru, rapidly spread through the neighbouring colonies, and that general soon found the number of his troops trebled. He now marched towards Cuzco, the capital, and after a few conflicts with the natives, which invariably ended with an immense slaughter of the Indians, forced his way into it, and took possession of all its wealth.

Meanwhile Benalcazar, the governor left by Pizarro at St. Michael, had attacked Quito, after surmounting many obstacles, and entered it with his victorious troops. But here they were subjected to a well-deserved mortification; for the natives, knowing with sorrow their object, had carried off the large amount of treasure deposited there. Benalcazar was not the only leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. Pedro de Alvarado, who had taken a prominent part



in the conquest of Mexico, thinking that this rich city did not come within the limits of the province assigned to Pizarro, determined to attack it. He, however, through ignorance of the country lost a great number of his men; and, before he reached the plain of Quito, he met a body of Spanish troops, headed by Almagro, ready to oppose him. Matters, however, were amicably settled, and Alvarado returned to Guatemala.

Pizarro and Almagro now received the honours from Ferdinand, which they so much desired, and their jurisdiction was considerably extended. But dissensions began to spring up between these two leaders; and, indeed, there had never been a cordial reconciliation since the treachery of Pizarro, in engrossing to himself all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate. Pizarro now being at rest from both Spaniards and Indians, set himself diligently to work to arrange the government of the provinces under his control. He destined the seat of it to be at Lima, and there, by a stately palace built for himself, and by houses erected by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

In consequence of what had been agreed on with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili, his standard being followed by five hundred and seventy men. From impatience to close the expedition, or from contempt of hardship and danger, Almagro, instead of advancing along the sea-coast, chose a shorter, but vastly more dangerous, route across the mountains, and the number of his troops was thus considerably diminished. In the fertile plains of Chili, however, they encountered a people far more warlike than any they had yet seen, and more resembling the tribes of North America. These fought with such determined fierceness as rendered the issue of the expedition doubtful; but Almagro was suddenly recalled, as an unexpected revolution had taken place in Peru.

The numerous bodies of Spaniards had been so distributed in subduing fresh provinces, that a very insecure guard was left at Cuzco, under the command of Juan Gonzales and Ferdinand Pizarro. No sooner was this perceived by Manco Capac, the Inca, than he formed a great confederacy with all the Peruvians; and an army, amounting, it is said, to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, while another formidable body invested Lima. The siege of Cuzco lasted for nine months, during which time the assailants imitated the Spaniards as closely as possible in their military movements, as they had obtained a great number of their arms from parties they had cut off in different places. The Peruvians had secured possession of half the city when Almagro arrived in its neighbourhood.

Almagro had a more powerful reason for advancing to Cuzco than the relief of Pizarro's brothers, as he had just received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his authority. He was now certain that this city lay within the prescribed bounds of his jurisdiction. The Inca, after some negotiation, attacked Almagro with a numerous body of chosen troops, but was repulsed with much slaughter, and a great part of the army was dispersed. The younger Pizarros now directed all their energies against their new



enemy, Almagro ; but the latter succeeded in gaining many adherents of the Pizarros, and finally surprised the sentinels, and, by investing the house in which the brothers resided, forced them to submit. Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements, sent an army of five hundred men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, in hopes of relieving his brothers ; but this army was met and routed by Almagro, and the commander and his principal officers were taken prisoners. Had the victorious general marched to Lima before Pizarro had time to recover his loss, the issue of the conflict must have been at once decided ; but, contrary to the advice of some of his ablest officers, he remained where he was.

Pizarro, with his usual cunning, knowing that the delay of active measures was the best thing that could be until he had obtained additional forces, had recourse to arts which he had formerly practised but too successfully—amusing Almagro with prospects of settling their differences amicably, but constantly shifting his ground—and thus passed away seven months. By utter disregard to truth and honour, he obtained the release of his two brothers, the third having been killed by the Peruvians ; and they, in conjunction with Alvarado, persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany them in their flight. Pizarro now threw off the mask of reconciliation, and marched against Almagro, at the head of about seven hundred men. In the plains of Cuzco a very obstinate battle was fought between the two parties, and, notwithstanding the greater number of veterans and cavalry were on the side of Almagro, Pizarro, by the superior number of his forces, and by a skilfully-directed fire from a body of musketeers, obtained a decisive victory, which was used in the most cruel and barbarous manner. Almagro endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance. He was kept for several months in suspense, although his doom was fixed, until his soldiers had left Cuzco, when he was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He left one son, whom he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

The first intelligence that reached the court of Spain concerning this civil war was through some of Almagro's officers, but one of the Pizarros arrived soon after, and endeavoured to justify their conduct as much as possible. As it was a very critical position for the court to be in, they resolved to send out Vaca de Castro, vested with extensive and discretionary powers, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs, and inquiring into the conduct of both leaders, should be authorized to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state and the welfare of the colony. If he found the Governor Pizarro still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who was considered to have merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission, that he might then produce, by which he was

appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand, who had been his ambassador, was seized at Madrid and confined to a prison, where he remained more than twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any approach to impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained over his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the most exorbitant selfishness, and with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most populous and cultivated, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. The partizans of Almagro consequently murmured in secret, and determinately meditated revenge.

Rapid as had been the progress of the Spaniards in South America since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments penetrated into several new provinces; and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World. Pedro de Valdivia took up Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country that he founded the city of St. Jago, and thus began the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province.

But, of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to conduct its government. He instructed him also to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the East of the Andes, which, according to the information of Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and



no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one-half of whom were horsemen, with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. Allured by frequent and false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on until they reached the banks of the Coca, or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with immense and persevering labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Gonzales Pizarro; and the stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far a-head of their countrymen, who followed slowly, and with difficulty, by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and, transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous, for he violated his duty to his commander, and abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a trackless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; thus attempting to open his path to glory over the graves of his countrymen. Yet so great was his daring that he ventured the navigation of nearly six thousand miles, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed with green timber and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, and without a pilot. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks, and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes.

After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing



fortitude, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary amount of the marvellous with the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold, and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of El Dorado, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded such fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of those memorable occurrences of that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Gonzales Pizarro on not finding the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base as to desert him at such a juncture; but imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Marignon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length, he came up with an officer whom Orellana had heartlessly left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sank within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Gonzales Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march, the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hope which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians and two hundred and ten Spaniards perished in this wild, disastrous expedition, which continued nearly two years; and as fifty men were on board the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked, like savages, and so emaciated with famine, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

But, instead of being able to return to enjoy the repose which his

condition required, Gonzales Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother Francisco made so partial a division of his conquests, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers, in despair, resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which Pizarro allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted; and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake anything for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he, carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connexion inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

A plot was now formed to assassinate Francisco Pizarro. He disbelieved in and laughed at it; but his hour had come. The catastrophe is thus sketched by the hand of Mr. Prescott:—

"As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. 'What!' exclaimed Rada, 'afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!' And he ordered the man to give up the enterprize, and go home to his quarters." The anecdote is characteristic.

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two courtyards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more; but it was left open, and the assailants,



hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help! help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the governor!"

Pizarro was at this time at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after Mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Martinez de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the courtyard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or, at best, imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in his descent, held his rod of office in his mouth; thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance, that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands."

Meanwhile the governor, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartments opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had his order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force till the report of the cavalier, who had fled, had brought support to Pizarro. But, unfortunately, Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier; but these, too, were quickly despatched, and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant?"

Martinez de Alcantara, who, in the adjoining room, was assisting his brother to buckle on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antichamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length Pizarro, unable, in the hurry of the moment, to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and, enveloping one arm



in his cloak, with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late, for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What, ho!" he cried,—"traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage, by relieving one another in the assault. Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side; when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant;" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the governor. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword, but at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling, he sank on the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke more friendly than the rest put an end to his existence.\*

Such was the end of Pizarro. He fell in his own palace, in the moment of his proudest exaltation, by the hands of his own countrymen. His so-called friends, who banqueted at his cost, hastily fled without striking one blow in his defence. The steps by which he obtained success were bravery of the most unreflecting order, and perfidy of the blackest kind. Desolation marked his path wherever he went.

Southey has written his epitaph, but his pen should have been dipped in still darker hues, for his life was one unbroken course of crime:—

"Pizarro here was born; a greater name  
The list of glory boasts not. Toil and pain,  
Famine and hostile elements, and hosts  
Embattled, failed to check him in his course;  
Not to be wearied, not to be deterred,  
Not to be overcome. A mighty realm  
He overran, and, with relentless aim  
Slew or enslaved its unoffending sons,  
And wealth, and power, and fame, were his rewards.  
There is another world beyond the grave,  
According to their deeds where men are judged.  
*O reader! if thy daily bread be earned  
By daily labour—yea, however low,  
However wretched be thy lot assigned,  
Thank thou, with deepest gratitude, the God  
Who made thee, that thou art not such as he.*"

As soon as Pizarro was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and,

assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had, as they considered, the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, and from the rapaciousness of his government in the latter years of his life the number of malcontents was considerable, declared without hesitation in favour of Almagro, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru.

But the seeds of discord, already sown, soon sprang up, and attained to a frightful maturity. The whole tale of the conquest of Peru, like that of many other discoveries of countries over which we have passed, suggests an impressive moral. Of all the men that accompanied Francisco Pizarro on his expedition of plunder and massacre to the shores of Peru, there is reason to believe that not one died under the roof of a house, or from any of the diseases incident to man. It is almost certain that every individual of them left his carcase on the plains, in the forests, under the rivers, and on the mountains—a feast of dogs, and birds of prey, and fishes. So true is it that “wrong never comes right,” and that the wrong-doer, even in this life, is often equitably but most severely visited. He who would have true peace must obey the requirement to “do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God.” Then, and then only, his “peace shall flow as a river, and his righteousness as the waves of the sea.”

END OF VOL. I.

**SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE**  
**OR,**  
**THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.**  
**THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH.**

**NAUTICAL DISCOVERIES OF COMMODORE BYRON—VOYAGE AND  
DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN WALLIS—THE FOUR VOYAGES  
AND DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN COOK—EARLY POLAR  
EXPLORATIONS—RECENT VOYAGES AND DIS-  
COVERIES OF SCOTLAND, LARSEN,  
JONES, AND FRANKLIN.**





# SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE:

OR,

THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.

THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH.

VOL. II.

“————— Art thrives most  
Where commerce has enriched the busy coast;  
He catches all improvements in his flight,  
Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight,  
Imports what others have invented well,  
And stirs his arm to match them, or excel.  
'Tis thus reciprocating each with each,  
Alternately the nations learn and teach;  
While Providence enjoins to every soul  
A union with the vast terraqueous whole.”

COWPER.

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1850.





# SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF COMMODORE BYRON.

It was soon after the accession of George III. to the crown of England, that he formed a design of sending out vessels for making discoveries of countries hitherto unknown. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a state of profound peace, he proceeded to put it into execution. On the 21st of June Commodore Byron sailed from the Downs, having the Dolphin and the Tamar under his command. On the 11th of September he and his party made the coast of Brazil, and anchored, two days afterwards, in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. "The city," says the commodore, "which is large, and makes a handsome appearance, is governed by the Viceroy of Brazil, who is perhaps, in fact, as absolute a sovereign as any upon earth. When I visited him, he received me in great form; above sixty officers were drawn up before the palace, as well as a captain's guard, who were men of good appearance, and extremely well clothed. His excellency, with a number of persons of the first distinction belonging to the place, met me at the head of the stairs, upon which fifteen guns were fired from the nearest fort. We then entered the room of state, and, after conversing about a quarter of an hour in French, I took my leave, and was dismissed with the same form that had been used at my reception. He offered to return my visit at a house which I had hired on shore; but this I declined, and, soon after, he returned it on board.

"On the 16th of October we weighed anchor, being impatient to get to sea, for the heat here was intolerable; but we lay four or five days above the bar, waiting for the land-breeze to carry us out, for there is no getting out with a sea-breeze, and the entrance between the two first forts is so narrow, and so great a sea breaks in upon them, that it was not without much difficulty and danger that we got out at last, and if we had followed the advice of the Portuguese pilot, we had certainly lost the ship." He adds, by way of caution to other navigators:—"I should observe, that the Portuguese here, carrying on a great trade, make it their business to attend every time a boat comes on shore, and practise every artifice in their power to entice away the crew. If other methods do not succeed, they make them drunk, and immediately send them up the country, taking effectual care to prevent their return till the ship to which they belong has left the place. By this practice I lost five of my men, and the Tamar nine: more I never recovered; but the Tamar had the good fortune to learn where

his were detained, and by sending out a party in the night, surprised them, and brought them back."

On being once more at sea, the Commodore called all hands on deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the East Indies, but on certain discoveries which it was thought might be of great benefit to the country; in consideration of which the lords commissioners of the admiralty had been pleased to promise them double pay, and several other advantages, if, during the voyage, they should behave to the satisfaction of the commander. They all expressed the greatest joy on the occasion, and assured the commodore that there was no danger or difficulty they would not cheerfully undergo in the service of their country, nor any order that he could give them, which they would not implicitly and zealously obey.

With the usual vicissitudes of navigation, they proceeded to the coast of Patagonia, passed up the Strait of Magellan to Port Famine, from thence back to Falkland's Islands, and from them into the South Seas. On running from the western entrance of the Strait of Magellan, the commodore observed a small island, which, as they drew near it, had a most beautiful appearance. The commodore says: "It was surrounded by a beach of the finest white sand, and within, it was covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance, and formed the most delightful groves that can be imagined, without underwood. We judged this island to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it we saw a small portion of land running into the sea, upon which the surge broke with great fury; there was also a great surf all round it. We soon perceived that it was inhabited, for many of the natives appeared upon the beach, with spears in their hands, that were at least sixteen feet long. They presently made several large fires, which we supposed to be a signal, for we immediately perceived several fires upon the larger island that was to windward of us, by which we knew that also to be inhabited. I sent the boat, with an officer, to look for an anchoring place, who, to our great regret and disappointment, returned with an account that he had been all round the island, and that no bottom could be found within less than a cable's length of the shore, which was surrounded close to the beach with a steep coral rock.

"The scurvy by this time had made dreadful havoc among us, many of my best men being now confined to their hammocks; the poor fellows who were able to crawl upon deck, stood gazing at this little paradise, which Nature had forbidden them to enter, with sensations which cannot easily be conceived; they saw ~~coconut~~ coconuts in great abundance, the milk of which is, perhaps, the most powerful anti-scorbutic in the world. They had reason to suppose that there were limes, bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between the tropics; and, to increase their mortification, they saw the shells of many turtles scattered about the shore. When I knew the soundings, I could not forbear standing close round the island with the ship, though I also knew it was impossible to procure any of the refreshments which it produced. The natives ran along the shore

abreast of the ship, shouting and dancing; they also frequently brandished their long spears, and then threw themselves backward, and lay a few minutes motionless, as if they had been dead. This we understood as a menace that they would kill us if we ventured to go ashore.

"As we were sailing along the coast," we took notice that in one place the natives had fixed upright in the sand two spears, to the top of which they had fastened several things that fluttered in the air, and that some of them were every moment kneeling down before them, as we supposed, invoking the assistance of some invisible being to defend themselves against us. While I was thus circumnavigating the island with the ship, I sent the boats out again to sound, and when they came near the shore, the Indians set up one of the most hideous yells I had ever heard, pointing at the same time to their spears, and posing in their hands large stones which they took up from the beach. Our men, on the contrary, made all the signs of amity and good-will that they could devise, and at the same time threw them bread and many other things, none of which they vouchsafed so much as to touch, but with great expedition hauled five or six large canoes, which we saw lying upon the beach, up into the wood. When this was done, they waded into the water, and seemed to watch for an opportunity of laying hold of the boat, that they might drag her on shore.

"The sailors, apprehending that this was their design, and that if they were got on shore they would certainly be put to death, were very impatient to be beforehand with them, and would have fired at them; but the officer on board, having no permission from me to commit hostilities, restrained them. I should, indeed, have thought myself at liberty to have obtained by force the refreshments, for want of which our people were dying, if it had been possible to come to an anchor, supposing we could not have made these poor savages our friends; but nothing could justify the taking away their lives for a mere imaginary or intentional injury, without procuring the least advantage to ourselves. They were of a deep copper colour, exceedingly stout, and well limbed, and remarkably nimble and active, for I never saw men run so fast in my life. As the boats reported a second time that there was no anchoring-ground about this island, I determined to work up to the other, which was accordingly done all the rest of the day and the following night.

"At six o'clock in the morning of the 8th we brought to on the west side of it, at the distance of about three quarters of a mile from the shore; but we had no soundings with one hundred and forty fathoms of line. In approaching these islands the cocoa-nut trees were first discovered, as they are higher than any part of the surface. I sent a boat, with an officer from each ship, to sound the lee side of these islands for an anchoring place; and as soon as they left the ship, I saw the Indians run down to the beach in great numbers, armed with long spears and clubs. They kept abreast of the boats as they went sounding along the shore, and used many threatening gestures to prevent their landing; I, therefore, fired a nine-pound shot from the ship over their heads, upon which they ran into the woods with great precipitation. At ten o'clock the boats returned,



to keep out the weather. Their bottoms were as sharp as a wedge, and they were very narrow ; and, therefore, two of them were joined laterally together by a couple of strong spars, so that there was a space of about six or eight feet between them. A mast was hoisted in each of them, and the sail was spread between the masts.

“The sail, which I preserved, and which is now in my possession, is made of matting, and is as neat a piece of work as ever I saw. Their paddles were very curious ; and their cordage was as good and as well laid as any in England, though it appeared to be made of the outer covering of the cocoa nut. When these vessels sail, several men sit upon the spars which hold the canoes together. A similarly-constructed canoe, from one of the islands, is shown in the engraving.

“As the surf, which broke very high upon the shore, rendered it impossible to procure refreshments for the sick in this part of the island, I hauled to the wind, and worked back to the inlet, being determined to try once more what could be done there. I recovered that station in the afternoon, and immediately sent the boats round the inlet again, but they confirmed the account that had been made before, that it afforded no anchorage for a ship. While the boats were absent, I observed a great number of the natives upon the point near the spot where we had left them in the morning, and they seemed to be very busy in loading a great number of large canoes, which lay close to the beach. As I thought they might be troublesome, and was unwilling that they should suffer by another unequal contest with our people, I fired a shot over their heads, which procured the effect I intended, for they all disappeared in a moment.

“Just before the evening closed in, our boats landed and got a few cocoa-nuts, which they brought off, and saw none of the inhabitants. In the night, during which we had rain and hard squalls, I stood off and on with the ships, and at seven o'clock in the evening brought to off the inlet. I immediately sent the boats on shore in search of refreshments, and made all the men, who were not so ill of the scurvy as to be laid up, go in them ; I also went on shore myself, and continued there the whole day. We saw many houses or wigwams of the natives, but they were totally deserted, except by the dogs, who kept incessantly howling from the time we came on shore till we returned to the ship. They were low mean hovels, thatched with cocoa-nut branches ; but they were most delightfully situated in a fine grove of stately trees, many of which were the cocoa-nut, and many such as we were utterly unacquainted with. The cocoa-nut trees seem to furnish them with almost all the necessaries of life ; particularly food, sails, cordage, timber, and vessels to hold water ; so that probably these people always fix their habitations where the trees abound. We observed the shore to be covered with coral, and the shells of very large pearl oysters ; so that I made no doubt but that as profitable a pearl fishery might be established here as any in the world. We saw but little of the people, except at a distance ; we could, however, perceive that the women had a piece of cloth of some kind, probably fabricated of the same stuff as their sails, hanging from the waist, as low as their knees ; the men were naked.

“Our people, in rummaging some of the huts, found the carved head.

of a rudder, which had manifestly belonged to a Dutch long-boat, and was very old and worm-eaten. They found also a piece of hammered iron, a piece of brass, and some small iron tools, which the ancestors of the present inhabitants probably obtained from some Dutch ship to which the long-boat had belonged; all which I brought away with me. Whether these people found means to cut off the ship, or whether she was lost upon the island, or after she left it, cannot be known; but there is reason to believe that she never returned to Europe, because no account of her voyage, or of any discoveries that she made, is extant. If the ship sailed from this place in safety, it is not, perhaps, easy to account for her leaving the rudder of her long-boat behind her; and if she was cut off by the natives, there must be much more considerable remains of her in the island, especially of her iron-work, upon which all Indian nations, who have no metal, set the highest value; we had no opportunities, however, to examine the matter farther. The hammered-iron, brass, and iron tools, I brought away with me; one tool we found exactly in the form of a carpenter's adze, the blade of which was a pearl oyster-shell: possibly this might have been made in imitation of an adze which had belonged to the carpenter of the Dutch ship, for among the tools that I brought away there was one which seemed to be the remains of such an implement, though it was worn away almost to nothing.

"Close to the houses of these people we saw buildings of another kind, which appeared to be burying-places, and from which we judged they had great veneration for their dead. They were situated under lofty trees, that gave a thick shade; the sides and tops were of stone; and in their figures they somewhat resembled the square tombs, with a flat top, which are always to be found in our country church-yards. Near these buildings we found many neat boxes full of human bones, and, upon the branches of the trees which shaded them, hung a great number of the heads and bones of turtle, and a variety of fish, inclosed in a kind of basket-work of reeds. Some of the fish were taken down, and we found that nothing remained but the skin and the teeth; the bones and the entrails seemed to have been extracted, and the muscular flesh dried away. We sent off several boat-loads of cocoa-nuts, and a great quantity of scurvy-grass, with which the island is covered; refreshments which were of infinite service to us, as, by this time, I believe there was not a man among us wholly untouched by the scurvy.

"The fresh water here is very good, but it is scarce; the wells which supply the natives are so small, that when two or three cocoa-nut shells have been filled from them, they are dry for a few minutes; but, as they presently fill again, if a little pains were taken to enlarge them, they would abundantly supply any ship with water. We saw no venomous creature here, but the flies were an intolerable torment; they covered us from head to foot, and filled not only the boat but the ship. We saw a great number of parrots and parroquets, and several other birds which were altogether unknown to us; we saw also a beautiful kind of dove, so tame that some of them frequently came close to us, and even followed us to the Indian huts. All this day the natives kept themselves closely concealed, and did not even make



a smoke upon any part of the island, as far as we could see ; probably fearing that a smoke might disclose the place of their retreat. In the evening we all returned on board the ship,

"The next morning at six o'clock I made sail for the island which I intended to visit ; and when I reached it, I steered along the north-east side of it, but could get no soundings. This side is about six or seven leagues long, and the whole has much the same appearance as the other, having a large salt-water lake in the middle of it. As soon as the ship came in sight, the natives ran down to the beach in great numbers. They were armed in the same manner as those we had seen on the other island, and kept abreast of the ship for several leagues. As the heat of this climate is very great, they seemed to suffer much by running so far in the heat of the sun ; for they sometimes plunged into the sea, and sometimes fell flat upon the sand, that the surf might break over them, after which they renewed the race with great vigour. Our boats were at this time sounding along the shore as usual, but I had given strict orders to the officers who commanded them never to molest the natives, except it should become absolutely necessary for their own defence, but to try all possible means to obtain their confidence and good-will.

"Our people, therefore, went as near to the shore as they durst for the surf, and made signs that they wanted water. The Indians readily understood them, and directed them to run down farther along the shore, which they did, till they came abreast of such a cluster of houses as we had just left upon the other island. To this place the Indians still followed them, and were there joined by many others. The boats immediately hauled close into the surf, and we brought to, with the ships, at a little distance from the shore, upon which a stout old man, with a long white beard, that gave him a very venerable appearance, came down from the houses to the beach. He was attended by a young man, and appeared to have the authority of a chief or king. The rest of the Indians, at a signal which he made, retired to a little distance, and he then advanced quite to the water's edge. In one hand he held the green branch of a tree, and in the other he grasped his beard, which he pressed to his bosom ; in this attitude he made a long oration, or rather a song, for it had a musical cadence which was by no means disagreeable.

"We greatly regretted that we could not understand what he said to us, and not less that he should not understand anything which we should say to him. To show our good will, however, we threw him some trifling presents, while he was yet speaking, but he would neither touch them himself, nor suffer them to be touched by others till he had done. He then walked into the water, and threw our people the green branch, after which he took up the things which had been thrown from the boats. Everything now having a friendly appearance, our people made signs that they should lay down their arms, and most of them having complied, one of the midshipmen, encouraged by this testimony of confidence and friendship, leaped out of the boat with his clothes on, and swam through the surf to shore. The Indians immediately gathered round him, and began to examine his clothes with great curiosity ; they seemed particularly to



admire his waistcoat, and being willing to gratify his new friends, he took it off, and presented it to them. This courtesy, however, produced a disagreeable effect, for he had no sooner given away his waistcoat, than one of the Indians very ingeniously untied his cravat, and the next moment snatched it from his neck, and ran away with it. Our adventurer, therefore, to prevent his being stripped piecemeal, made the best of his way back again to the boat.

“ Still, however, we were on good terms, and several of the Indians swam off to our people, some of them bringing a cocoa-nut, and others fresh water in a cocoa-nut shell. But the principal object of our boats was to obtain some pearls; and the men, to assist them in explaining their meaning, had taken with them some of the pearl oyster-shells, which they found in great numbers upon the coast; but all their endeavours were ineffectual, for they could not, even with this assistance, at all make themselves understood. It is, indeed, probable that we should have succeeded better if an intercourse of any kind could have been established between us, but it was our misfortune that no anchorage could be found for the ships. As all the Indians are fond of beads, it can scarcely be supposed that the pearls, which the oysters at this place contained, were overlooked by the natives, and it is more than probable that, if we could have continued here for a few weeks, we might have obtained some of great value in exchange for nails, hatchets, and billhooks, upon which the natives, with more reason, set a much higher value. We observed that in the lake, or lagoon, there were two or three very large vessels, one of which had two masts, and some cordage aloft to support them.”

Having given some particulars of the position of other islands, the commodore thus proceeds:—“ After having seen the breakers soon after it was light in the morning, I told my officers that I apprehended we should have frequent alarms in the night; at night, therefore, everybody was up on the watch, which a very hard squall of wind, with rain, rendered the more necessary. About nine o’clock, having just gone down into my cabin, I heard a great noise above, and when I inquired what was the matter, I was told that the Tamar, which was a-head, had fired a gun, and that our people saw breakers to leeward. I ran instantly upon deck, and soon perceived that what had been taken for breakers was nothing more than the undulating reflection of the moon, which was going down, and shone faintly from behind a cloud in the horizon; we therefore bore away after the Tamar, but did not get sight of her till an hour afterwards.

“ Nothing worthy of notice happened till Monday, the 24th, when we discovered another island about seven or eight leagues. We steered for it, and found it to be low, but covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It had a pleasant appearance, and a large lake in the middle, like King George’s island. It is nearly thirty miles in circumference, and a dreadful sea breaks upon almost every part of the coast. No soundings, however, were to be got near the shore; but I sent the boats out a second time, with orders to land, if it were possible, and procure some refreshments for the sick. They landed with great difficulty, and brought off about two hundred cocoa-nuts, which, to persons in our circumstances, were

an inestimable treasure. The men who went on shore reported that there were no signs of its ever having been inhabited, but that they found thousands of sea-fowl sitting upon their nests, which were built in high trees. These birds were so tame that they suffered themselves to be knocked down without leaving their nests. The ground was covered with land crabs, but there was no vestige of any other animal. I called this the Duke of York's island.

"On the 2nd of July we again saw many birds about the ship, and in the afternoon discovered an island about six leagues distant. We stood for it till sunset, when it was distant about four leagues, and then kept off and on for the night. In the morning we found it a low, flat island, of a most delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conspicuous. We saw, however, to our great regret, much foul ground about it, upon which the sea broke with a dreadful surf. We steered along the south-west side of it, which we judged to be about four leagues in length, and soon perceived not only that it was inhabited, but very populous; for presently after the ship came in sight, we saw at least a thousand of the natives assembled upon the beach, and in a very short time more than sixty canoes, or rather proas, put off from the shore, and made towards us. We lay by to receive them, and they were very soon ranged in a circle round us. These vessels were very neatly made, and so clean that they appeared to be quite new. None of them had fewer than three persons on board, nor any of them more than six.

"After these Indians had gazed at us some time, one of them suddenly jumped out of his proa, swam to the ship, and ran up the side like a cat. As soon as he had stepped over the gunwale, he sat down upon it and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal whatever he could lay his hands upon, but without success, for, being stark naked, it was impossible to conceal his booty for a moment. Our seamen put on him a jacket and trousers, which produced great merriment, for he had all the gestures of a monkey newly dressed. We also gave him bread, which he ate with a voracious appetite; and after having played a thousand antics he leaped overboard, jacket, trousers, and all, and swam back again to his proa. After this several others swam to the ship, ran up the side of the gun-room ports, and, having crept in, snatched up whatever lay in their reach, and immediately leaped again into the sea and swam away at a great rate; though some of them, having both hands full, held up their arms quite out of the water, to prevent their plunder from being spoilt.

"These people are tall, well-proportioned, and clean-limbed. Their skin is a bright copper colour, their features are extremely good, and there is a mixture of intrepidity and cheerfulness in their countenances which is very striking. They have long black hair, which some of them wore tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three knots; some of them had long beards, some only whiskers, and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of the chin. They were all of them stark naked, except their ornaments, which consisted of shells, very prettily disposed and strung together, and were worn round their necks wrists, and waists. All their ears were bored, but



they had no ornaments in them when we saw them. Such ornaments as they wear, when they wear any, are probably very heavy, for their ears hang down almost to their shoulders, and some of them were quite split through. One of these men, who appeared to be a person of some consequence, had a string of human teeth about his waist, which was probably a trophy of his military prowess, for he would not part with them in exchange for anything I could offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others had one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever seen; it was a kind of spear, very broad at the end, and stuck full of sharks' teeth, which are as sharp as a lancet, at the sides, for about three feet of its length. We showed them some cocoa nuts, and made signs that we wanted more; but, instead of giving any information that they could supply us, they endeavoured to take away those we had.

"I sent out the boats to sound soon after we brought-to off the island, and when they came back they reported that there was ground at the depth of thirty fathoms, within two cables' length of the shore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the soundings much too near the breakers for a ship to lie in safety, I was obliged again to make sail without procuring any refreshments for the sick. To this island my officers gave the name of Byron's Island. In our course from this place we saw, for several days, abundance of fish, but we could take only sharks, which were become a good dish, even at my own table. Many of the people now began to fall down with fluxes, which the surgeon imputed to the excessive heat and almost perpetual rains.

"By the 21st, all our cocoa-nuts being expended, our people began to fall down again with the scurvy. The effect of these nuts alone, in checking this disease, is astonishing. Many whose limbs had become as black as ink, who could not move without the assistance of two men, and who, besides total debility, suffered excruciating pain, were in a few days, by eating these nuts, although at sea, so far recovered as to do their duty, and could even go aloft as well as they did before the distemper seized them. For several days, about this time, we had only faint breezes, with smooth water, so that we made but little way; and as we were now not far from the Ladrone Islands, where we hoped some refreshments might be procured, we most ardently wished for a fresh gale, especially as the heat was still intolerable, the glass for a long time having never been lower than eighty-one, but often up to eight-four; and I am of opinion that this is the hottest, the longest, and most dangerous run that was ever made.

"On the 29th we anchored at the south-west end of Tinian, one of three islands, a few leagues distant from one another. Here we had sixteen fathoms water, with a bottom of hard sand and coral rock, opposite to a white sandy bay, about a mile and a quarter from the shore, and about three-quarters of a mile from a reef of rocks that lies at a good distance from the shore. The water at this place is so very clear that the bottom is plainly to be seen at the depth of four-and-twenty fathoms, which is no less than one hundred and forty-four feet.

"As soon as the ship was secured, I went on shore, to fix upon a place where tents might be erected for the sick, which were now very



numerous ; not a single man being wholly free from the scurvy, and many in the last stage of it. We found several huts which had been left by the Spaniards and Indians the year before ; for this year none of them had as yet been at the place, nor was it probable that they would come for some months, the sun being now almost vertical, and the rainy reason set in. After I had fixed upon a spot for the tents, six or seven of us endeavoured to push through the woods, that we might come at the beautiful lawns and meadows, and if possible kill some cattle. The trees stood so thick, and the place was so overgrown with underwood, that we could not see three yards before us, we therefore were obliged to keep continually hallooing to each other, to prevent our being separately lost in this trackless wilderness. As the weather was intolerably hot, we had nothing on beside our shoes, except our shirts and trowsers, and these were in a very short time torn all to rags by the bushes and brambles ; at last, however, with incredible difficulty and labour, we got through ; but, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found the country very different from the account we had read of it. The lands were entirely overgrown with a stubborn kind of reed or brush, in many places higher than our heads, and nowhere lower than our middles, which continually entangled our legs, and cut us like whipcord ; our stockings perhaps might have suffered still more, but we wore none. During this march we were also covered with flies from head to foot, and whenever we offered to speak we were sure of a mouthful, many of which never failed to get down our throats. After we had walked about three or four miles, we got sight of a bull, which we killed, and a little before night got back to the beach, as wet as if we had been dipped in water, and so fatigued that we were scarcely able to stand. We immediately sent out a party to fetch the bull ; and found that during our excursion some tents had been got up, and the sick brought on shore.

“ The next day our people were employed in setting up more tents, getting the water-casks on shore, and clearing the well at which they were to be filled. This well was the worst that we had met with during the voyage ; for the water was not only brackish, but full of worms. The road also where the ships lay was a dangerous situation at this season, for the bottom is hard sand and large coral rocks, and the anchor having no hold in the sand, the cable is in perpetual danger of being cut to pieces by the coral ; to prevent which as much as possible, I rounded the cables, and buoyed them up with empty water-casks. Another precaution also was taught me by experience, for at first I moored, but finding the cables much damaged, I resolved to lie single for the future, that by veering away or heaving in, as we should have more or less wind, we might always keep them from being slack, and consequently from rubbing, and this expedient succeeded to my wish. At the full and change of the moon a prodigious swell tumbles in here, so that I never saw ships at anchor roll so much as ours did while we lay here ; and it once drove in from the westward with such violence, and broke so high upon the reef, that I was obliged to put to sea for a week ; for if our cable had parted in the night, and the wind had been upon the shore, which sometimes happens for two

or three days together, the ship must inevitably have been lost upon the rocks.

"As I was myself very ill with the scurvy, I ordered a tent to be pitched for me, and took up my residence on shore; where we also erected the armourer's forge, and began to repair the iron work of both ships. I soon found that the island produced limes and oranges, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, guavas, and paupas in great abundance; but we found no water-melons, scurvy-grass, or sorrel.

"Notwithstanding the fatigue and distress that we had endured, and the various climates we had passed through, neither of the ships had yet lost a single man since their sailing from England; but while we lay here, two died of fevers, a disease with which many were seized, though we all recovered very fast from the scurvy. I am, indeed, of opinion that this is one of the most unhealthy spots in the world, at least during the season in which we were here. The rains were violent, and almost incessant, and the heat was so great as to threaten us with suffocation. The thermometer, which was kept on board the ship, generally stood at eighty-six, which is but nine degrees less than the heat of the blood at the heart, and if it had been on shore it would have risen much higher. I had been upon the coast of Guinea, in the West Indies, and upon the island of St. Thomas, which is under the Line, but I had never felt any such heats as I felt here. Besides the inconvenience which we suffered from the weather, we were incessantly tormented by the flies in the day, and by the mosquitoes in the night. The island also swarms with centipedes and scorpions, and a large black ant, scarcely inferior to either in the malignity of its bite. Besides these, there were venomous insects without number, altogether unknown to us, by which many of us suffered so severely, that we were afraid to lie down on our beds; nor were those on board in a much better situation than those on shore, for great numbers of these creatures being carried into the ship with the wood, they took possession of every berth, and left the poor seamen no place of rest, either below or upon the deck.

"As soon as we were settled in our new habitations, I sent out parties to discover the haunts of the cattle, some of which were found, but at a great distance from the tents, and the beasts were so shy that it was very difficult to get a shot at them. Some of the parties which, when their haunts had been discovered, were sent out to kill them, were absent three days and nights before they could succeed, and when a bullock had been dragged seven or eight miles through such woods and lawns as have just been described, to the tents, it was generally full of fly-blows, and was utterly unfit for use. Nor was this the worst, for the fatigue of the men in bringing down the carcass, and the intolerable heat they suffered from the climate and the labour, frequently brought on fevers, which laid them up. Poultry, however, we procured upon easier terms. There was great plenty of birds, and they were easily killed; but the flesh of the best of them was very ill tasted; and such was the heat of the climate, that within an hour after they were killed it was as green as grass, and swarmed with maggots. Our principal resource for fresh meat was the wild hog, with which the island abounds. These creatures are very fierce,



and some of them so large that a carcase frequently weighed two hundred pounds. We killed them without much difficulty, but a black belonging to the Tamar contrived a method to snare them, so that we took great numbers of them alive, which was an unspeakable advantage, for it not only insured our eating the flesh while it was sweet, but enabled us to send a good number of them on board as sea stores.

"In the mean time we were very desirous of procuring some beef in an eatable state, with less risk and labour, and Mr. Gore, one of our mates, at last discovered a pleasant spot upon the north-west part of the island, where cattle were in great plenty, and whence they might be brought to the tents by sea. To this place, therefore, I despatched a party, with a tent for their accommodation, and sent the boats every day to fetch what they should kill; sometimes, however, there broke such a sea upon the rocks, that it was impossible to approach them, and the Tamar's boat unhappily lost three of her best men by attempting it. We were now, upon the whole, pretty well supplied with provisions, especially as we baked fresh meat every day for the sick; and the fatigue of our people being less, there were fewer ill with the fever; but several of them were so ill by eating of a very fine looking fish which we caught here, that their recovery was for a long time doubtful. Against eating this fish we had been warned, but not attending sufficiently to this caution, we bought our knowledge by experience, which we might have had cheaper; for though all our people who tasted this fish, ate sparingly, they were all soon afterwards dangerously ill. Besides the fruit that has been mentioned already, this island produces cotton and indigo in abundance, and would certainly be of great value if it were situate in the West Indies. The surgeon of the Tamar enclosed a large spot of ground here, and made a very pretty garden, but we did not stay long enough to derive any advantage from it.

"While we lay here, I sent the Tamar to examine the island of Saypan, which is much larger than Tinian, rises higher, and, in my opinion, has a much pleasanter appearance. We anchored to the leeward of it, at the distance of a mile from the shore, and in about ten fathom water, with much the same kind of ground as we had in the road of Tinian. Our people landed upon a fine sandy beach, which is six or seven miles long, and walked up into the woods, where they saw many trees which were fit for topmasts. They saw no fowls, nor any tracks of cattle; but of hogs and guanicoes there was plenty. They found no fresh water near the beach, but saw a large pond inland, which they did not examine. They saw large heaps of pearl water-shells thrown up together, and other signs of people having been there not long before. Possibly the Spaniards may go thither at some season of the year and carry on a pearl fishery. They also saw many of those square pyramidal pillars which are to be found at Tinian.

"On the 30th of September, having now been here nine weeks, and our sick being pretty well recovered, I ordered the tents to be struck, and with the forge and oven carried back to the ship. I also laid in about two thousand cocoa-nuts, which I had experienced to be so



## CAPTAIN WALLIS.

powerful a remedy for the scurvy, and the next day I weighed anchor, hoping, that before we should get the length of the Bashi island, the north-east monsoon would be set in. I stood along the shore to take in the beef-hunters; but we had very little wind that day and the next, till the evening, when it came to the westward and blew fresh; I then stood to the northward till the morning of the 3rd, when we made Anatacan, an island which is remarkably high."

After this the commodore visited some other of the neighbouring islands, and then sailed for Malacca, which he reached at the end of October. He then proceeded to Batavia, where, having remained some time, he passed the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Deal on the 7th of May, in the following year. And, to the honour of this truly human commander, it should be stated, that under his able guidance the *Dolphin* and the *Tamar* encompassed the earth; yet in so long a voyage, through various seas and climates, and after sailing several thousand leagues under the torrid zone, they lost only six men out of each ship, including those that were drowned.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN WALLIS.

CAPTAIN WALLIS received a commission dated the 19th of June, 1766; went on board the same day, hoisted his pendant, and began to enter men. The ship was fitted for sea with all possible expedition, during which the articles of war and the act of parliament were read to the ship's company. On the 16th of August they anchored in Plymouth Sound, and on the 19th the Captain received his sailing orders, with direction, to take the *Swallow* sloop, and the *Prince Frederick* store-ship, under his command.

A voyage was now made to the coast of Patagonia, and through the Straits of Magellan, a particular account being given of the places in which they anchored during their passage through the Straits, and of the shoals and rocks that lie near them, but abounding with technicalities, which are only of interest to navigators. On the 3rd of June, 1767, Captain Wallis says: "We saw several gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined us to hope that land was not very far distant. The next day a turtle swam close by the ship. On the 5th we saw many birds, which confirmed our hope that some place of refreshment was near, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the sixth, Jonathan Fuller, a seaman, called out from the mast head, 'Land in the W.N.W.' At noon it was plainly seen from the deck, and found to be a low island, at about five or six leagues distance. The joy which every one on board felt at this discovery, can be conceived by those only who have experienced the danger, sickness, and fatigue of such a voyage as we had performed.

"When we were within about five miles of this island, we saw another, bearing N.W. by W. About three o'clock in the afternoon, being very near the island that was first discovered, we brought to, and sent Mr. Furneaux, my second lieutenant, my first lieutenant,

being very ill, with the boats, manned and armed, to the shore. As he approached it, we saw two canoes put off, and paddle away with great expedition towards the island which lay to the leeward. At seven in the evening the boats returned, and brought with them several cocoa-nuts, and a considerable quantity of scurvy-grass; but they brought also some fish-hooks, which were made of oyster-shells, and some of the shells of which they were made. They reported that they had seen none of the inhabitants, but had visited three huts, or rather sheds, consisting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm leaves, supported upon posts, and open all round. They saw also several canoes building, but found no fresh water, nor any fruit but cocoa-nuts. They sounded, but found no anchorage, and it was with great difficulty they got on shore, as the surf ran very high. Having received this account, I stood off and on all night, and, early the next morning, I sent the boats out again to sound, with orders, if possible, to find a place where the ship might come to an anchor; but at eleven o'clock they returned, with no better success than before. The people told me that the whole island was surrounded by a reef, and that although on the weather-side of the island there was an opening through it into a large basin, that extended to the middle of the island, yet they found it so full of breakers that they could not venture in; neither, indeed, had they been able to land on any part of the island, the surf running still higher than it had done the day before. As it would answer no purpose to continue here, I hoisted the boats in, and stood away for the other island, about four leagues distant. The island which I now quitted, having been discovered on Whitsun-eve, I called it Whitsun Island.

"When we came under the lee of the other island, I sent Lieutenant Furneaux, with the boats manned and armed, to the shore, where I saw about fifty of the natives armed with long pikes, and several of them running about with fire-brands in their hands. I ordered Mr. Furneaux to go to that part of the beach where we saw the people, and endeavour to traffic with them for fruit and water, or whatever else might be useful; at the same time being particularly careful to give them no offence. I ordered him also to employ the boats in sounding for anchorage. About seven o'clock he returned, and told me that he could find no ground with the line till he came within half a cable's length of the shore, and that there it consisted of sharp rocks, and lay very deep.

"As the boats approached the shore the Indians thronged down towards the beach, and put themselves upon their guard with their long pikes, as if to dispute our landing. Our men then lay on their oars, and made signs of friendship, showing, at the same time, several strings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians still made signs to our people that they should depart, but at the same time eyed the trinkets with a kind of wishful curiosity. Soon after, some of them advanced a few steps into the sea; and our people making signs that they wanted cocoa-nuts and water, some of them brought down a small quantity of both, and ventured to hand them into the boat. The water was in cocoa-nut shells, and the fruit was stripped of its outward covering, which is probably used for various

purposes. For this supply they were paid with the trinkets that had been showed them, and some nails, upon which they seemed to set a much greater value. During this traffic one of the Indians found means to steal a silk handkerchief, in which some of our small merchandise was wrapped up, and carried it clear off, with its contents, so dexterously that nobody observed him. Our people made signs that a handkerchief had been stolen, but they either could not or would not understand them. The boats continued about the beach, sounding for anchorage, till it was dark; and having many times endeavoured to persuade the natives to bring down some scurvy-grass, without success, they returned on board.

"I stood off and on with the ship all night; and as soon as the day broke I sent the boats again, with orders to make a landing, but without giving any offence to the natives that could possibly be avoided. When our boats came near the shore the officer was greatly surprised to see seven large canoes, with two stout masts in each, lying just in the surf, with all the inhabitants upon the beach ready to embark. They made signs to our people to go higher up; they readily complied, and as soon as they went ashore all the Indians embarked, and sailed away to the westward, being joined by two other canoes at the west-end of the island. About noon the boats returned, laden with cocoa-nuts, palm-nuts, and scurvy-grass. Mr. Furneaux, who commanded the expedition, told me that the Indians had left nothing behind them but four or five canoes. He found a well of very good water, and described the island as being sandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with scurvy-grass. The canoes, which steered about W. S. W. as long as they could be seen from the mast-head, appeared to be about thirty feet long, four feet broad, and three and a half deep. Two of these being brought along side of each other were fastened together, at the distance of about three feet asunder, by cross beams, passing from the larboard gunwale of one to the starboard gunwale of the other, in the middle and near to each end. The inhabitants of this island were of a middle stature, and dark complexion, with long black hair, which hung loose over their shoulders. The men were well made, and the women handsome. Their clothing was a kind of coarse cloth or matting, which was fastened about their middle, and seemed capable of being brought up round their shoulders.

"In the afternoon I sent Lieutenant Furneaux with the boats again on shore. He had with him a mate and twenty men, who were to make a rolling way for getting the casks down to the beach from the well. I gave orders that he should take possession of the island, in the name of King George the Third, and give it the name of Queen Charlotte's Island, in honour of her majesty. The boats returned, freighted with cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass, and the officer told me that he had found two more wells of good water, not far from the beach. I was at this time very ill, yet I went ashore with the surgeon, and several of the people who were enfeebled by the scurvy, to take a walk. I found the wells so convenient that I left the mate and twenty men on shore to fill the water, and ordered a week's provision to be sent them from the ship, they being already furnished



with arms and ammunition. In the evening I returned on board, with the surgeon and the sick, leaving only the waterers on shore. As we had not been able to find any anchorage, I stood off and on all night.

"In the morning I sent all the empty water-casks on shore; the surgeon and the sick were also sent for the benefit of another airing; but I gave them strict orders that they should keep near the water-side, and in the shade; that they should not pull down or injure any of the houses, nor, for the sake of the fruit, destroy the cocoa-nut trees, which I appointed proper persons to climb. At noon, the rolling-way being made, the cutter returned laden with water, but it was with great difficulty got off the beach, as it is all rock, and the surf that breaks upon it is often very great. At four I received another boat-load of water, and a fresh supply of cocoa-nuts, palm-nuts, and scurvy-grass; the surgeon also returned with the sick men, who received much benefit from their walk. The next morning, as soon as it was light, I despatched orders to the mate to send all the water that was filled on board, and to be ready to come off with his people, when the boats should return again, bringing with them as many cocoa-nuts and as much scurvy-grass as they could procure. About eight o'clock all the boats and people came on board, with the water and refreshments, but the cutter, in coming off, shipped a sea, which almost filled her with water. The barge was happily near enough to assist her, by taking a great part of her crew on board, while the rest freed her, without any other damage than the loss of the cocoa-nuts and greens that were on board. At noon I hoisted the boat in, and there being a great sea, with a dreadful surf rolling in upon the shore, and no anchorage, I thought it prudent to leave this place, with such refreshments as we had got. The people who had resided on shore saw no appearance of metal of any kind, but several tools, which were made of shells and stones, sharpened and fitted into handles, like adzes, chisels, and awls. They saw several canoes building, which were formed of planks sewed together, and fastened to several small timbers, that passed transversely along the bottom and up the sides. They saw several repositories of the dead, in which the body was left to putrify under a canopy, and not put into the ground.

"When we sailed, we left a union-jack flying upon the island, with the ship's name, the time of our being here, and an account of our taking possession of this place, and Whitsun Island, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, cut on a piece of wood, and in the bark of several trees. We also left some hatchets, nails, glass bottles, beads, shillings, sixpences, and halfpence, as presents to the natives, and an atonement for the disturbance we had given them.

"We made sail with a fine breeze, and about one o'clock saw an island about fifteen miles distant. At half an hour after three we were within about three quarters of a mile of the east end of the island, and ran close along the shore, but had no soundings. The east and west ends are joined together by a reef of rocks, over which the sea breaks into a lagoon in the middle of the island, which, therefore, had the appearance of two islands, and seemed to be about six miles long and four broad. The whole of it is low land, full of trees, but we saw not a single cocoa-nut, nor any huts. We found, how-

ever, at the westernmost end, all the canoes and people who had fled, at our approach, from Queen Charlotte's Island, and some more. We counted eight double canoes, and about fourscore people, women and children. The canoes were drawn up on the beach, the women and children were placed near them, and the men advanced with their pikes and firebrands, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. We observed that this island was sandy, and that under the trees there was no verdure. As the shore was everywhere rocky, as there was no anchorage, and as we had no prospect of obtaining any refreshment here, I set sail at six o'clock in the evening from this island, to which I gave the name of Egmont Island, in honour of the Earl of Egmont, who was then first lord of the Admiralty.

"At one o'clock, on the 11th, we saw an island in the W.S.W., and stood for it. At four in the afternoon we were within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and ran along it, sounding continually, but could get no ground. It is surrounded on every side by rocks, on which the sea breaks very high. It is full of trees, but has not one cocoa-nut, and has much the same appearance as Egmont Island, but is much narrower. Among the rocks at the west end we saw about sixteen of the natives, but no canoes. They carried long pikes or poles in their hands, and seemed to be in every respect the same kind of people that we had seen before. As nothing was to be had here, and it blew very hard, I made sail till eight in the evening, and then brought to. To this island, which is about six miles along, and from one mile to one mile and a quarter broad, I gave the name of Gloucester Island in honour of his royal highness the Duke of Gloucester.

"At five o'clock in the morning we made sail, and soon after saw another island, and in a few days another, both closely resembling those already described. On the 17th of this month we came up to an island which, though small, proved to be inhabited, and gave us hopes that we should find anchorage near it. We observed, with great pleasure, that the land was very high, and covered with cocoa-nuts, a sure sign that there was water.

"The next morning I sent Lieutenant Furneaux to the shore, with the boats manned and armed, and all kinds of trinkets, to establish a traffic with the natives for such refreshments as the place would afford. I gave him orders also to find, if possible, an anchoring place for the ship. While we were getting out the boats, several canoes put off from the island, but as soon as the people on board saw them make towards the shore, they put back. At noon the boats returned, and brought with them a pig and a cock, with a few plantains and cocoa-nuts. Mr. Furneaux reported that he had seen at least a hundred of the inhabitants, and believed there were many more upon the island; but that, having been all round it, he could find no anchorage, nor scarcely a landing place for the boat. When he reached the shore, he came to a grappling, and threw a warp to the Indians upon the beach, who caught it and held it fast. He then began to converse with them by signs, and observed they had no weapons among them, but that some of them had white sticks, which seemed to be ensigns of authority, as the people who bore them kept the rest of the natives back.



"In return for the pig and the cock, he gave them some beads, a looking-glass, a few combs, with several trinkets, and a hatchet. The women, who had been kept at a distance, as soon as they saw the trinkets, ran down in a crowd to the beach, with great eagerness, but were soon driven away by the men, at which they expressed much disappointment and vexation. While this traffic was carrying on, a man came secretly round a rock, and diving down, took up the boat's grappling, and at the same time the people on shore who had the warp made an effort to draw her into the surf. As soon as this was perceived by the people on board, they fired a musket over the man's head who had taken up the grappling, upon which he instantly let it go, with marks of great terror and astonishment; the people on shore also let go the rope. The boats, after this, lay some time on their oars, but the officer, finding that he could get nothing more, returned on board. Mr. Furneaux told me that both the men and women were clothed, and he brought a piece of their cloth away with him. The inhabitants appeared to him to be more numerous than the island could support, and for this reason, especially as he saw some large double canoes upon the beach, he imagined there were islands of larger extent not far distant, where refreshments in greater plenty might be procured, and hoped that they might be less difficult of access. As I thought this a reasonable conjecture, I hoisted in the boats, and determined to run farther to the westward. To this place, which is nearly circular, and about two miles across, I gave the name of Osnaburgh Island, in honour of Prince Frederick, the Duke of York, who is bishop of that see.

"At two o'clock, the same day, we bore away, and in about half an hour discovered very high land in the W.S.W. As the weather was thick and squally, we brought to for the night, or at least till the fog should break away. At two in the morning, it being very clear, we made sail again; at day-break we saw the land at about five leagues distance, and steered directly for it; but at eight o'clock, when we were close under it, the fog obliged us again to lie to; and when it cleared away, we were much surprised to find ourselves surrounded by some hundreds of canoes. They were of different sizes, and had on board different numbers, from one to ten, so that in all of them together there could not be less than eight hundred people. When they came within pistol shot of the ship, they lay by, gazing at us with great astonishment, and by turns conferring with each other. In the meantime we showed them trinkets of various kinds, and invited them on board. Soon after, they drew together, and held a kind of council to determine what should be done. Then they all paddled round the ship, making signs of friendship, and one of them, holding a branch of the plantain tree, made a speech that lasted near a quarter of an hour, and then threw it into the sea.

"Soon after, as we continued to make signs of invitation, a fine, stout, lively young man ventured on board. He came up by the main chains, and jumped out of the shrouds upon the top of the awning. We made signs for him to come down upon the quarter-deck, and handed up some trinkets to him. He looked pleased, but would accept of nothing till some of the Indians came alongside, and



after much talk, threw a few branches of plantain tree on board the ship. He then accepted our presents, and several others very soon came on board at different parts of the ship, not knowing the proper entrance. As one of these Indians was standing near the gangway, on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, one of our goats butted him upon the haunches. Being surprised at the blow, he turned hastily about, and saw the goat raised upon his hind legs ready to repeat the blow. The appearance of this animal, so different from any he had ever seen, struck him with such terror, that he instantly leaped overboard; and all the rest, upon seeing what had happened, followed his example with the utmost precipitation. They recovered, however, in a short time from their fright, and returned on board.

“After having reconciled them to our goats and sheep, I showed them our hogs and poultry, and they immediately made signs that they had such animals as these. I then distributed trinkets and nails among them, and made signs that they should go on shore, and bring us some of their hogs, fowls, and fruit, but they did not seem to understand my meaning. They were, in the mean time, watching an opportunity to steal some of the things that happened to lie in their way, but we generally detected them in the attempt. At last, however, one of the midshipmen happened to come where they were standing, with a new broad hat upon his head, and began to talk to one of them by signs. While he was thus engaged, another of them came behind him, and suddenly snatching off the hat, leaped over the taffarel into the sea, and swam away with it.

“As we had no anchorage here, we stood along the shore, sending the boats at the same time to sound at a less distance. As none of these canoes had sails, they could not keep up with us, and, therefore, soon paddled back towards the shore. The country has the most delightful and romantic appearance that can be imagined. Towards the sea it is level, and is covered with fruit trees of various kinds, particularly the cocoa-nut. Among these are the houses of the inhabitants, consisting only of a roof, and, at a distance, having greatly the appearance of a long barn. The country within, at about the distance of three miles, rises into lofty hills, that are crowned with wood, and terminate in peaks, from which large rivers are precipitated into the sea. We saw no shoals, but found the island skirted by a reef of rocks, through which there are several openings into deep water. About three o'clock in the afternoon, we brought to abreast of a large bay, where there was an appearance of anchorage. The boats were immediately sent to sound it, and while they were thus employed, I observed a great number of canoes gather round them. I suspected that the Indians had a design to attack them, and as I was very desirous to prevent mischief, I made the signal for the boats to come on board, and at the same time, to intimidate the Indians, I fired a nine pounder over their heads.

“As soon as the cutter began to stand towards the ship, the Indians in their canoes, though they had been startled by the thunder of our nine pounder, endeavoured to cut her off. The boat, however, sailing faster than the canoes could paddle, soon got clear of those that were about her; but some others, that were full of men, waylaid her in her

course, and threw several stones into her, which wounded some of the people. Upon this, the officer on board fired a musket, loaded with buck shot, at the man who threw the first stone, and wounded him in the shoulder. The rest of the people in the canoe, as soon as they perceived their companion wounded, leaped into the sea, and the other canoes paddled away in great terror and confusion. As soon as the boats reached the ship, they were hoisted on board, and just as she was about to stand on, we observed a large canoe, under sail, making after us. As I thought she might have some chief on board, or might have been despatched to bring me a message from some chief, I determined to wait for her. She sailed very fast, and was soon alongside of the ship, but we did not observe, among those on board, any one that seemed to have an authority over the rest. One of them, however, stood up, and having made a speech which continued about five minutes, threw on board a branch of the plantain tree. We understood this to be a token of peace, and we returned it by handing over one of the branches of plantain that had been left on board by our first visitors. With this, and some toys that were afterwards presented to him, he appeared to be much gratified, and after a short time, went away.

"The officers who had been sent out with the boats informed me that they had sounded close to the reef, and found as great a depth of water as at the other islands. However, as I was now on the weather side of the island, I had reason to expect anchorage in running to leeward; I therefore took this course, but finding breakers that ran off to a great distance from the south end of the island, I hauled to the wind, and continued turning to windward all night, in order to run down on the east side of the islands.

"At five o'clock in the morning we made sail, the land bearing N.W. by W., distant ten leagues; and there seemed to be land five leagues beyond it to N.E.; a remarkable peak, like a sugar loaf, we also remarked, which afforded a most delightful prospect, and was full of houses and inhabitants. We saw several large canoes near the shore, under sail, but they did not steer towards the ship. At noon we were within two or three miles of the island. We continued our course along the shore, sometimes at the distance of half a mile, and sometimes at the distance of four or five miles, but hitherto they got no soundings. At six o'clock in the evening we were abreast of a fine river, and the coast having a better appearance here than any other part that we had seen, I determined to stand off and on all night, and try for anchorage in the morning. As soon as it was dark, we saw a great number of lights all along the shore. At daybreak, we sent out the boats to sound, and soon after they made the signal for twenty fathoms. This produced an universal joy, which it is not easy to describe, and we immediately ran in, and came to anchor in seventeen fathoms, with a clear sandy bottom. We lay about a mile distant from the shore, opposite to a fine run of water.

"As soon as we had secured the ship I sent the boats to sound along the coast, and look at the place where we saw the water. At this time a considerable number of canoes came off to the ship, and brought with them hogs, fowls, and fruit, in great plenty, which we purchased



for trinkets and nails. But when the boats made towards the shore, the canoes, most of which were double, and very large, sailed after them. At first they kept at a distance, but as the boats approached the shore they grew bolder, and at last three of the largest ran at the cutter, stayed in her quarter, and carried away her out-rigger, the Indians preparing, at the same time, to board her, with their clubs and paddles in their hands. Our people being thus pressed, were obliged to fire, by which one of the assailants was killed and another much wounded. Upon receiving the shot they both fell overboard, and all the people who were in the same canoe instantly leaped into the sea after them. The other two canoes dropped astern, and our boats went on without any further interruption. As soon as the Indians, who were in the water, saw that the boats stood on without attempting to do them any further hurt, they recovered their canoes and hauled in their wounded companions. They set them both upon their feet to see if they could stand, and finding they could not, they tried whether they could sit upright; one of them could, and him they supported in that posture, but perceiving that the other was quite dead, they laid the body along at the bottom of the canoe. After this some of the canoes went ashore, and others returned again to the ship to traffic, which is a proof that our conduct had convinced them that while they behaved peaceably they had nothing to fear, and that they were conscious they had brought the mischief which had just happened upon themselves.

"The boats continued sounding till noon, when they returned with an account that the ground was very clear; that it was at the depth of five fathoms within a quarter of a mile of the shore; but that there was a very great surf where we had seen the water. The officers told me that the inhabitants swarmed upon the beach, and that many of them swam off to the boat with fruit, and bamboos filled with water. In the afternoon I sent the boats again to the shore, with some barecas, or small casks which are filled at the heads, and have a handle by which they are carried, to endeavour to procure some water of which we began to be in great want. In the mean time many of the canoes continued about the ship, but the Indians had been guilty of so many thefts that I would not suffer any more of them to come on board.

"At five in the evening the boats returned with only two barecas of water, which the natives had filled for them, and, as a compensation for their trouble, they thought fit to detain all the rest. Our people, who did not leave their boat, tried every expedient they could think of to induce the Indians to return their water-vessels, but without success; and the Indians, in their turn, were very pressing for our people to go on shore, which they thought it prudent to decline. There were many thousands of the inhabitants, of both sexes, and a great number of children, on the beach when our boats came away.

"The next morning I sent the boats ashore again for water, with nails, hatchets, and such other things as I thought most likely to gain the friendship of the inhabitants. In the meantime a great number of canoes came off to the ship, with bread-fruit, plantains, a fruit resembling an apple, only better, fowls, and hogs, which we purchased with



beads, nails, knives, and other articles of the like kind, so that we procured pork enough to serve the ship's company two days at a pound a man.

"When the boats returned, they brought us only a few calabashes of water, for the number of people on the beach was so great that they would not venture to land. Fruit and provisions of various kinds were brought down and ranged upon the beach, of which our people were also invited to partake, as an additional inducement for them to leave the boat; they continued, however, inexorable, and showing the Indians the barecas on board, made signs that they should bring down those which had been detained the day before. To this the Indians were inexorable in their turn, and our people, therefore, weighed their grapplings, and sounded all round the place, to see whether the ship should come in near enough to cover the waterers, in which case they might venture on shore, in defiance of the whole island. They reported that the ship might ride in four fathoms of water, with sandy ground, at two cables' length from the shore, and in five fathoms water at three cables' length. The wind here blew right along the shore, raising a great surf on the side of the vessel and on the beach.

"At daybreak the next morning we weighed, with a design to anchor off the watering-place. As we were standing off to get farther to windward, we discovered a bay about six or eight miles to leeward, over the land, from the mast-head, and immediately bore away for it, sending the boats a-head to sound. At nine o'clock, the boats making the signal for twelve fathoms, we hauled round a reef, and stood in, with a design to come to an anchor; but when we came near the boats, one of which was on each bow, the ship struck. Her head continued immoveable, but her stern was free, and, upon casting the lead, we found the depth of water upon the reef or shoals to be from seventeen fathoms to two and a half. We clewed all up as fast as possible, and cleared the ship of what lumber there happened to be upon the deck, at the same time getting out the longboat, with the stream and kedge anchors, the stream cable and hawser, in order to carry them without the reef, that when they had taken ground the ship might be drawn off towards them by applying a great force to the capstan, but, unhappily, without the reef we had no bottom. Our condition was now very alarming; the ship continued beating against the rock with great force, and we were surrounded by many hundred canoes, full of men; they did not, however, attempt to come on board us, but seemed to wait in expectation of our shipwreck. In the anxiety and terror of such a situation we continued nearly an hour, without being able to do anything for our deliverance, except staving some water-casks in the forehold, when a breeze happily springing up from the shore, the ship's head swung off. We immediately pressed her with all the sail we could make, upon which she began to move, and was very soon once more in deep water.

"We now stood off, and the boats being sent to leeward, found that the reef ran down to the westward about a mile and a half, and that beyond it there was a very good harbour. The master, after having placed a boat at the end of the reef, and furnished the longboat with

anchor and hawsers, and a guard to defend her from an attack of the Indians, came on board, and piloted the ship round the reef into the harbour, where, about twelve o'clock, she came to an anchor in seventeen fathoms water, with a fine bottom of black sand.

"The place where the ship struck appeared, upon farther examination, to be a reef of sharp coral rock, with very unequal soundings, from six fathom to two; and it happened, unfortunately, to lie between the two boats that were placed as a direction to the ship, the weathermost boat having twelve fathoms and the leewardmost nine. The wind freshened almost as soon as we got off, and though it soon became calm again, the surf ran so high, and broke with such violence upon the rock, that if the ship had continued fast half an hour longer, she must inevitably have been beaten to pieces. Upon examining her bottom, we could not discover that she had received any damage, except that a small piece was beaten off the bottom of her rudder. She did not appear to admit any water, but the trussel-trees, at the head of all the masts, were broken short, which we supposed to have happened while she was beating against the rock. Our boats lost their grapplings upon the reef, but as we had reason to hope that the ship was sound, they gave us very little concern. As soon as the ship was secured, I sent the master, with all the boats manned and armed, to sound the upper part of the bay, that if he found good anchorage, we might warp the ship up within the reef, and anchor her in safety. The weather was now very pleasant, a great number of canoes were upon the reef, and the shore was crowded with people.

"About four in the afternoon the master returned, and reported that there was everywhere good anchorage; I therefore determined to warp the ship up the bay early in the morning, and, in the meantime, I put the people at four watches, one watch to be always under arms; loaded and primed all the guns, fixed musketoons in all the boats, and ordered all the people who were not upon the watch to repair to the quarter assigned them at a moment's warning, there being a great number of canoes, some of them very large, and full of men, hovering upon the shore, and many smaller venturing to the ship with hogs, fowls, and fruit, which we purchased of them, much to the satisfaction of both parties; and at sunset all the canoes rowed in to the shore.

"At six o'clock the next morning we began to warp the ship up the harbour, and, soon after, a great number of canoes came under the stern. As I perceived that they had hogs, fowls, and fruit on board, I ordered the gunner, and two midshipmen, to purchase them for knives, nails, beads, and other trinkets, at the same time prohibiting the trade to all other persons on board. By eight o'clock the number of canoes was greatly increased, and those that came up last were double, of a very large size, with twelve or fifteen stout men in each. I observed, with some concern, that they appeared to be furnished rather for war than trade, having very little on board except round pebble stones. I therefore sent for Mr. Furneaux, my first lieutenant being still very ill, and ordered him to keep the fourth watch constantly at their arms, while the rest of the people were warping the ship. In the meantime more small canoes were continually coming off from the



shore, and the large canoes, which were freighted with stones, drew together very close round the ship, some of the men on board singing in a hoarse voice, some blowing conchs, and some playing on a flute. After some time, a man who sat upon a canopy that was fixed on one of the large double canoes, made signs that he wished to come to the ship's side. I immediately intimated my consent; and when he came along side, he gave one of the men a bunch of red and yellow feathers, making signs that he should carry it to me. I received it with expressions of amity, and immediately got some trinkets to present to him in return, but, to my great surprise, he had put off to a little distance from the ship, and upon his throwing up the branch of a cocoa-nut tree, there was an universal shout from all the canoes, which at once moved towards the ship, and a shower of stones was poured into her on every side.

"As an attack was now begun, in which our arms only could render us superior to the multitude that assailed us, especially as great part of the ship's company was in a sick and feeble condition, I ordered the guard to fire; two of the quarter-deck guns, which I had loaded with small shot, were also fired nearly at the same time, and the Indians appeared to be thrown into some confusion. In a few minutes, however, they renewed the attack, and all our people that were able to come upon deck, having by this time got to their quarters, I ordered them to fire the great guns, and to play some of them constantly at a place on shore, where a great number of canoes were still taking in men, and pushing off towards the ship with the utmost expedition. When the great guns began to fire, there were not less than three hundred canoes about the ship, having on board at least two thousand men; many thousands were also upon the shore, and more canoes coming from every quarter. The firing, however, soon drove away the canoes that were about the ship, and put a stop to the coming off of others.

"As soon as I saw some of them retreating, and the rest quiet, I ordered the firing to cease, hoping that they were sufficiently convinced of our superiority not to renew the contest. In this, however, I was, unhappily, mistaken; a great number of the canoes that had been dispersed soon drew together again, and lay some time on their paddles, looking at the ship from the distance of about a quarter of a mile, and then, suddenly hoisting white streamers, pulled towards the ship's stern, and began again to throw stones, with great force and dexterity, by the help of slings, from a considerable distance. Each of these stones weighed about two pounds, and many of them wounded the people on board, who would have suffered much more, if an awning had not been spread over the whole deck to keep out the sun, and the hammocks placed in the nettings. At the same time several canoes, well manned, were making towards the ship's bows, having probably taken notice that no shot had been fired from this part. I, therefore, ordered some guns forward, to be well pointed, and fired at these canoes; at the same time running out two guns abaft, and pointing them well at the canoes that were making the attack. Among the canoes that were coming toward the bow there was one which appeared to have some chief on board, as it was by signals made from



her that the others had been called together. It happened that a shot, fired from one of the guns forward, hit this canoe so as to cut it a-mider. As soon as this was observed by the rest, they dispersed with such haste that, in half-an-hour, there was not a single canoe to be seen; the people, also, who had crowded the shore, immediately fled over the hills with the utmost precipitation.

“ Having now no reason to fear any farther interruption, we warped the ship up the harbour; and by noon we were not more than half a mile from the upper part of the bay, within less than two cables’ length of a fine river, and about two and a half of the reef. We had here nine fathoms of water, and close to the shore there were five. We moored the ship, and carried out the stream anchor, with the two shroud hawsers for a spring, to keep the ship’s broadside abreast of the river; we also got up and mounted the eight guns that had been put in the hold. As soon as this was done the boats were employed in sounding all around the bay, and in examining the shore where any of the inhabitants appeared, in order to discover whether it was probable that they would give us any further disturbance. All the afternoon and part of the next morning was spent in this service; and about noon the master returned with a tolerable survey of the place, and reported that there were no canoes in sight; that there was good landing on every part of the beach; that there was nothing in the bay from which danger could be apprehended, except the reef, and some rocks at the upper end, which appeared above water; and that the river, though it emptied itself on the other side of the point, was fresh water.

“ Soon after the master had brought me this account I sent Mr. Furneaux again, with all the boats manned and armed, the marines being also put on board, with orders to land opposite to our station, and to secure himself, under cover of the boats and the ship, in the clearest ground he could find. About two o’clock the boats landed without any opposition; and Mr. Furneaux stuck up a staff, upon which he hoisted a pendant, turned a turf, and took possession of the island in his majesty’s name, in honour of whom he called it King George the Third’s Island.\* He then went to the river, and tasted the water, which he found excellent, and, mixing some of it with rum, every man drank his majesty’s health. While he was at the river, which was about twelve yards wide, and fordable, he saw two old men on the opposite side of it, who perceiving that they were discovered, put themselves in a supplicatory posture, and seemed to be in great terror and confusion. Mr. Furneaux made signs that they should come over the river, and one of them complied. When he landed, he came forward, creeping upon his hands and knees; but Mr. Furneaux raised him up, and, while he stood trembling, showed him some of the stones that were thrown at the ship, and endeavoured to make him understand that if the natives attempted no mischief against us, we should do no harm to them. He ordered two of the water-casks to be filled, to show the Indians that we wanted water, and produced some hatchets and other things, to intimate that he wished to trade for provisions.

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\* This island is much better known by the name given it by its inhabitants—Tahiti.

"The old man, during this pantomimical conversation, in some degree recovered his spirits; and Mr. Furneaux, to confirm his professions of friendship, gave him a hatchet, some nails, beads, and other trifles; after which he re-embarked on board the boats, and left the pendant flying. As soon as the boats were put off, the old man went up to the pendant, and danced round it a considerable time. He then retired, but soon after returned with some green boughs, which he threw down, and retired a second time. It was not long, however, before he appeared again, with about a dozen of the inhabitants, and putting themselves in a supplicating posture, they all approached the pendant in a slow pace; but the wind happening to move it when they were got close to it, they suddenly retreated with the greatest precipitation. After standing some time at a distance, and gazing at it, they went away, but in a short time came back, with two large hogs alive, which they laid down at the foot of the staff, and at length, taking courage, they began to dance. When they had performed this ceremony, they brought the hogs down to the water side, launched a canoe, and put them on board. The old man, who had a large white beard, then embarked with them alone, and brought them to the ship. When he came alongside, he made a set speech, and afterwards handed in several green plantain leaves, one by one, uttering a sentence in a solemn slow tone with each of them as he delivered it; after this he sent on board the two hogs, and then, turning round, pointed to the land. I ordered some presents to be given him, but he would accept of nothing; and soon after put off his canoe, and went on shore.

"At night, soon after it was dark, we heard the noise of many drums, with conchs, and other wind instruments, and saw a multitude of lights all along the coast. At six in the morning, seeing none of the natives on shore, I observed that the pendant was taken away, which probably they had learnt to despise, as the frogs in the fable did King Log. I ordered the lieutenant to take a guard on shore, and, if all was well, to send off, that we might begin watering. In a short time I had the satisfaction to find that he had sent off for water-casks, and by eight o'clock we had four tons of water on board. While our people were employed in filling the casks, several of the natives appeared on the opposite side of the river, with the old man whom the officer had seen the day before; and soon after he came over, and brought with him a little fruit, and a few fowls, which were also sent off to the ship. At this time, having been very ill for nearly a fortnight, I was so weak that I could scarcely crawl about; however, I employed my glasses to see what was doing on shore. At nearly half an hour after eight o'clock I perceived a multitude of the natives coming over a hill at about the distance of a mile, and at the same time a great number of canoes making round the western point, and keeping close along the shore. I then looked at the watering-place, and saw at the back of it, where it was clear, a very numerous party of the natives creeping along behind the bushes; I saw, also, many thousands in the woods, pushing along towards the watering-place, and canoes coming very fast round the other point of the bay to the eastward.

"Being alarmed at these appearances, I despatched a boat to acquaint



the officer on shore with what I had seen, and order him immediately to come on board with his men, and leave the casks behind him. He had, however, discovered his danger, and embarked before the boat reached him. Having perceived the Indians that were creeping towards him under shelter of the wood, he immediately despatched the old man to them, making signs that they should keep at a distance, and that he wanted nothing but water. As soon as they perceived that they were discovered, they began to shout, and advanced with greater speed. The officer immediately repaired to the boats with his people, and the Indians in the meantime, having crossed the river, took possession of the water-casks, with great appearance of exultation and joy. The canoes now pulled along the shore, towards the place, with the utmost expedition, all the people on land keeping pace with them, except a multitude of women and children, who seated themselves upon a hill which overlooked the bay and the beach. The canoes from each point of the bay, as they drew near to that part of it where the ship was at anchor, put on shore, and took in more men, who had great bags in their hands, which afterwards appeared to be filled with stones.

"All the canoes that had come round the points, and many others that had put off from the shore within the bay, now made towards the ship, so that I had no doubt but that they intended to try their fortune in a second attack. As to shorten the contest would certainly lessen the mischief, I determined to make this action decisive, and put an end to hostilities at once; I therefore ordered the people, who were all at their quarters, to fire first upon the canoes, which were drawn together in groups. This was immediately done so effectually that those which were to the westward made towards the shore as fast as possible, and those to the eastward, getting round the reef, were soon beyond the reach of our guns. I then directed the fire into the wood in different parts, which soon drove the Indians out of it, who ran up the hill where the women and children had seated themselves to see the battle. Upon this hill there were now several thousands who thought themselves in perfect security; but to convince them of the contrary, and hoping that when they saw the shot fall much farther than they could think possible, they would suppose it could reach them at any distance, I ordered some of the guns to be let down as low as they would admit, and fired four shots towards them. Two of the balls fell close by a tree where a great number of these people were sitting, and struck them with such terror and consternation, that in less than two minutes not one of them was to be seen. Having thus cleared the coast, I manned and armed the boats, and putting a strong guard on board, I sent all the carpenters with their axes, and ordered them to destroy every canoe that had been run ashore. Before noon this service was effectually performed, and more than fifty canoes, many of which were sixty feet long, and three broad, and lashed together, were cut to pieces. Nothing was found in them but stones and slings, except a little fruit, and a few fowls and hogs, which were on board canoes of a much smaller size.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon about ten of the natives came out of the wood with green boughs in their hands, which they stuck



up near the water side and retired. After a short time they appeared again, and brought with them several hogs, with their legs tied, which they placed near the green boughs, and retired a second time. After this they brought down several more hogs, and some dogs, with their fore legs tied over their heads; and, going again into the woods, brought back several bundles of the cloths which they use for apparel, and which has some resemblance to Indian paper. These they placed upon the beach, and called to us on board to fetch them away. As we were at the distance of about three cables' length, we could not then perfectly discover of what this peace-offering consisted; we guessed at the hogs and the cloth, but seeing the dogs, with their fore legs appearing over the hinder part of the neck, rise up several times and run a little way in an erect posture, we took them for some strange unknown animal, and were very impatient to have a nearer view of them. The boat was, therefore, sent on shore with all expedition, and our wonder was soon at an end. Our people found nine good hogs, besides the dogs and the cloth; the hogs were brought off, but the dogs were turned loose, and, with the cloth, left behind. In return for the hogs our people left upon the shore some hatchets, nails, and other things, making signs to some of the Indians who were in sight to take them away with their cloth. Soon after the boat had come on board, the Indians brought down two more hogs, and called us to fetch them; the boat, therefore, returned, and fetched off the two hogs, but still left the cloth, though the Indians made signs that we should take it. Our people reported that they had not touched any of the things which they had left upon the beach for them, and somebody suggesting that they would not take our offering because we had not accepted their cloth, I gave orders that it should be fetched away. The event proved that the conjecture was true, for the moment the boat had taken the cloth on board the Indians came down, and, with every possible demonstration of joy, carried away all I had sent them into the wood. Our boats then went to the watering-place and filled and brought off all the casks, to the amount of about six tons. We found that they had suffered no injury while they had been in the possession of the Indians, but some leathern buckets and funnels which had been taken away with the casks were not returned.

"The next morning I sent the boats on shore, with a guard, to fill some more casks with water, and soon after the people were on shore, the same old man who had come over the river to them the first day, came again to the farther side of it, where he made a long speech, and then crossed the water. When he came up to the waterers, the officer showed him the stones, that were piled up like cannon balls upon the shore, and had been brought thither since our first landing, and some of the bags that had been taken out of the canoes which I had ordered to be destroyed, filled with stones, and endeavoured to make him understand that the Indians had been the aggressors, and that the mischief we had done them was in our own defence. The old man seemed to apprehend his meaning, but not to admit it; he immediately made a speech to the people, pointing to the stones, slings, and bags, with great emotion, and sometimes his looks, gestures, and voice were so furious as to be frightful. His passions, however, subsided by

degrees, and the officer, who, to his great regret, could not understand one word of all that he had said, endeavoured to convince him by all the signs he could devise, that we wished to live in friendship with them, and were disposed to show them every mark of kindness in our power. He then shook hands with him, and embraced him, giving him at the same time several such trinkets as he thought would be most acceptable. He contrived also to make the old man understand that we wished to traffick for provisions; that the Indians should not come down in great numbers, and that they should keep on one side of the river and we on the other. After this the old man went away, with great appearance of satisfaction, and before noon a trade was established, which furnished us with hogs, fowls, and fruit in great abundance, so that all the ship's company, whether sick or well, had as much as they could use."

After having had a good deal of pleasant intercourse with the natives and their queen, and having surveyed the interior of the island, Captain Wallis left it on the 27th of July. Having touched at several small islands, he and his people reached Tinian on the 7th of September, where they remained for several days, in order to procure provisions, and to caulk and thoroughly repair the ship. They sailed from thence to Batavia, and then proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, from which place they in a short time departed for England, which they reached on the 19th of May in the following year. To this narrative it is only necessary to add, that as the object of the voyage of the Dolphin was discovery; it was the constant practice of Captain Wallis, during the whole time of his navigating those parts of the sea which were not perfectly known, to lie to every night, and make sail only in the day, that nothing might escape him.

### CHAPTER III.

#### FIRST VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF LIEUTENANT COOK.

It was on the 26th of August, 1768, that Lieutenant James Cook, Commander of his Majesty's bark, the Endeavour, got under sail and put to sea. He and his companions had a pleasant sail till they reached Rio de Janeiro, where they landed, but the orders of the Viceroy caused them considerable difficulties. After staying a few weeks, they proceeded on their voyage, and off Cape St. Diego, Cook sent the master to examine a little cove, which lay at a short distance to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent. The master reported on his return, that there was anchorage in four fathoms, and a good bottom, close to the eastward of the first bluff point, on the east of Cape St. Vincent, at the very entrance of the cove, to which Cook gave the name of Vincent's Bay. Before this anchoring ground, however, lay several rocky ledges that were covered with sea-weed; but it was said there were not less than eight or nine fathoms over them. It appears strange that where weeds which grow at the bottom are seen above the surface, there should be this depth of water; but the



weeds which grow on rocky ground in these countries, and which always distinguish it from sand and ooze, are of an enormous size. The leaves are four feet long, and some of the stalks, though not thicker than a man's thumb, above one hundred and twenty.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined some of them over which they sounded, and as to anchor there appeared to involve risk, Cook determined to seek some port in the strait, where he might get on board such wood and water as he wanted. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore, and returned in the evening, with about a hundred different plants and flowers, all of them wholly unknown to the botanists of Europe. They found the country about the bay to be in general flat, the bottom of it, in particular, was a plain covered with grass, which might easily have been made into a large quantity of hay; they found also abundance of good wood and water, and fowls in great plenty. The trees were chiefly of one kind, a species of the birch; the stem being from thirty to forty feet long, and from two to three feet in diameter, so that, in a case of necessity, they might possibly supply a ship with top-masts. They saw none of the inhabitants, but fell in with two of their deserted huts, one in a thick wood, and the other close by the beach.

They now made sail into the strait, anchored in the bay of Good Success, and, after dinner, Cook, Banks, Solander, and some others, went on shore to look for a watering-place, and to seek for the natives, several of whom had come in sight. On landing on the starboard side of the bay, near some rocks, which made smooth water and good landing, thirty or forty natives soon appeared at the end of a sandy beach on the other side of the bay, but seeing the number of the English, which was ten or twelve, they retreated. Banks and Solander then advanced about a hundred yards before the others, on which two of the natives returned, and having proceeded some paces towards them, sat down; as soon as the English came up, the natives rose, and each of them having a small stick in his hand, threw it away, in a direction both from themselves and the strangers, which was considered as the renunciation of weapons, and the token of peace. They then walked briskly towards their companions, who had halted about fifty yards behind them, and beckoned their visitors to follow, which they did. They were received with many uncouth signs of friendship; and in return they distributed among the natives some beads and ribbons, which had been brought on shore for the purpose, and now produced great delight. Mutual confidence and good will being thus established, the conversation, such as it was, became general, and three of the natives went with their visitors to the ship. One of them practised what was supposed to be an exorcism, for when he was introduced to a new part of the ship, or when anything he had not seen before caught his attention, he shouted with all his might for some minutes, without directing his voice to the English or to his companions.

They ate some beef and bread, but not apparently with much pleasure, though some part which was given them and which they did not eat they took away with them, but they would not swallow a drop either of wine or spirits. They put the glass to their lips, but having



tasted the liquor, returned it with strong expressions of disgust. Of curiosity they seemed to have very little. They went from one part of the ship to another, and looked at the vast variety of new objects that everywhere presented themselves without any expression of wonder or pleasure. The same indifference appeared when they landed and saw others: as on the one side there appeared no eagerness to relate, so on the other there seemed no curiosity to hear, what had occurred.

A few days after, Banks and Solander went on shore, to visit a native town, which some of the people had reported to be about two miles up the country. They approached it by what appeared to be the common road, yet they were above an hour in getting thither, for they were frequently up to their knees in mud. When they were within a short distance, two of the people came out to meet them, with such state as they could assume, and, after much hallooing, they conducted their visitors to the town. It was situated on a dry knoll, or small hill, covered with wood, none of which seemed to have been cleared away, and consisted of about twelve or fourteen hovels, of the rudest kind that can be imagined. They were nothing more than a few poles set up so as to incline to each other and meet at the top, forming a kind of cone, like some of our bee-hives. On the weather-side they were covered with a few boughs and a little grass; and on the lee-side about one-eighth of the circle was left open, both for a door and a fire-place; and of this kind were the huts that had been seen in St Vincent's Bay, in one of which the embers of the fire were still remaining. Furniture they had none; a little grass which lay around the inside of the hovel served both for chairs and beds; and of all the utensils which necessity and ingenuity have concurred to produce among these people, the visitors saw only a basket to carry in the hand, a satchel to hang at the back, and the bladder of some beast to hold water, which the natives drank through a hole made near the top for that purpose.

The inhabitants of this town were a small tribe, not more than fifty in number, of both sexes and of every age. Their faces were painted in various forms. The region of the eye was in general white, and the rest of the face adorned with horizontal streaks of red and black; yet scarcely any two were exactly alike. This decoration seems to be more profuse on particular occasions; for the two natives who introduced the strangers to the town were almost covered with streaks of black in all directions, so as to make a very striking appearance. They wore such bracelets as they could make themselves of small shells or bones; the women on their wrists and ankles, the men on the wrists only; but to compensate for the want of bracelets on their legs, they wore a kind of fillet of brown worsted round their heads. They seemed to set a particular value on any thing that was red, and preferred beads even to a knife or hatchet.

It appears probable that the place where these nations were found<sup>4</sup> was only a temporary residence, from there being nothing like a boat or canoe, of which it can scarcely be supposed they were wholly destitute, especially as they were not sea-sick, or particularly affected either in the boat or on board the ship. It was conjectured that there

## FIRST VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES OF

might be a strait or inlet running from the sea through great part of this island, from the Strait of Magellan, whence these people might have come, leaving their canoes where such inlet terminated.

After a short stay the voyagers proceeded, and fell in with Terra del Fuego about twenty-one leagues to the westward of the Strait of Le Maire; and though through their glasses trees were to be plainly distinguished, as they came nearer, and here and there they discovered patches of snow, the sides of the hills and the sea-coast appeared to be covered with a beautiful verdure. The hills are lofty but not mountainous, though the summits of them are quite naked. The soil in the valleys is rich, and of a considerable depth; and at the foot of almost every hill there is a brook, the water of which was of a reddish hue, but it was by no means ill tasted, and on the whole proved the best that was taken during the voyage. The most remarkable spots on Terra del Fuego are a hill in the form of a sugar-loaf, which stands on the west-side, not far from the sea; and the three hills, called the Three Brothers, about nine miles to the westward of Cape St. Diego, the low point that forms the north entrance to the Strait of Le Maire. The strait itself, which is bounded on the west by Terra del Fuego, and on the east by the west end of Staten Land, is about five leagues long and as many broad.

Though the doubling of Cape Horn was so much dreaded, that in the general opinion it was more eligible to pass through the Straits of Magellan, the voyagers were not once brought under their close-reefed top-sails, after they left the Strait of Le Maire. They now began to have strong gales and heavy seas, with irregular intervals of calm and fine weather. Many birds, as usual, were constantly about the ship, so that Mr. Banks killed no less than sixty-two in one day; and, what is more remarkable, he caught two forest-flies, both of them of the same species, but differing from any that had hitherto been described; these probably came with the birds from the land, which was considered to be at a great distance. He also found, about this time, a large cuttle-fish, which had just been killed by the birds floating on the water. It differed from the cuttle fishes found in the European seas, for its arms were furnished, instead of suckers, with very sharp talons, which were retractable into a sheath, from which also they might be thrust out at pleasure. Of this cuttle-fish the voyagers made one of the best soups they ever tasted.

The albatrosses now began to leave them, and after a few days there was not one to be seen. Continuing their course without any memorable event, some of the people who were at the watch in the night at length reported that they saw a log of wood pass by the ship; and that the sea, which was rather rough, became suddenly as smooth as a mill-pond. It was a general opinion that there was land to windward, but Cook did not think himself at liberty to search for what he was not sure to find; though he judged that they were not far from the islands discovered by Quiros in 1606.

About a month elapsed, when Mr. Banks's servant, Peter Briscoe, discovered land bearing south at the distance of three or four leagues. It was found to be an island of an oval form, with a lagoon in the middle, which occupied much the larger part of it; the border of



land which circumscribes the lagoon is, in many places, very low and narrow, particularly on the south side, where it consists principally of a beach or reef of rocks. To adopt the narrative of the lieutenant: "It has the same appearance also, in three places, on the north side; so that the firm land being disjoined, the whole looks like many islands covered with wood. On the west end of the island is a large tree, or clump of trees, that in appearance resembles a tower; and about the middle are two cocoa-nut trees, which rise above all the rest, and, as we came near to the island, appeared like a flag. We approached it on the north side, and though we came within a mile, we found no bottom with one hundred and thirty fathoms of line, nor did there appear to be any anchorage about it. The whole is covered with trees of different verdure, but we could distinguish none, even with our glasses, except cocoa-nuts and palm-nuts. The natives appeared to be tall, and to have heads remarkably large; perhaps they had something wound round them, which we could not distinguish. They were of a copper colour, and had long black hair. Eleven of them walked along the beach abreast of the ship, with poles or pikes in their hands, which reached twice as high as themselves. While they walked on the beach they seemed to be naked; but soon after they retired, which they did as soon as the ship had passed the island, they covered themselves with something that made them appear of a light colour. Their habitations were under some clumps of palm-nut trees, which, at a distance, appeared like high ground; and to us, who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise."

Having touched at some other comparatively unimportant islands, they arrived on the 10th of April at Otaheite, and, in a short time, came to an anchor in the bay at which Captain Wallis had previously remained. They were delayed in their approach by light airs and calms, but about seven o'clock a breeze sprung up, and, before eleven, several canoes were seen making towards the ship. There were but few of them, however, that would come near; and the people in those that did, could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the natives called E' Midho. These, as they afterwards learned, were brought as tokens of peace and amity; and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which, however, were not at first understood. At length it was guessed that the natives wished these symbols should be placed in some conspicuous part of the ship; they were, therefore, immediately stuck among the rigging, at which the natives expressed great satisfaction. Their cargoes were then purchased, consisting of cocoa-nuts, and various kinds of fruit, which, after a long voyage, were very acceptable.

As the stay of the voyagers here was likely to be of considerable duration, Lieutenant Cook, soon after coming to an anchor, drew up a number of rules for the arrangement of the trading with the people, in order to avoid some of the disagreeable occurrences that happened to Captain Wallis at this place.



Having seen the ship properly secured, he went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. On their landing they were received with the most profound attention, and were accompanied, in a walk of about four or five miles, by some hundreds of the inhabitants. They were unsuccessful, however, in their endeavour to meet with the chiefs of the island, and therefore determined to return on the morrow. In the morning, however, before they could leave their ship, several canoes came about them; two of them were filled with people, who by their dress and deportment appeared to be of a superior order, and two of them went on board. In compliance with the request of these two natives, Lieutenant Cook, and his two friends, accompanied them on shore, where they had an interview and an interchange of presents with some other of the chiefs of this island.

On the following morning they again landed with the intention of fixing on a place for an observatory to make astronomical observations, and a fort for their protection during their stay. A squabble now arose between the natives and the marines, in consequence of one of the natives purloining a musket, which disturbed the friendly feeling of both parties. Lieutenant Cook having chosen an eligible spot, the fort was soon erected, and so scrupulous was the commander not to offend the natives, that he purchased every stake of them, and obtained their permission to cut down each cocoa-nut tree as it was needed.

On the 24th of April, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the eastward. For about two miles it was flat and fertile, after that the hills stretched quite to the water's edge, and, a little farther, ran out into the sea, so that they were obliged to climb over them. These hills, which were barren, continued for about three miles more, and then terminated in a large plain, which was full of good houses, and people who appeared to live in great affluence. In this place there was a river much more considerable than that at the fort, which issued from a deep and beautiful valley, and, where our travellers crossed it, though at some distance from the sea, it was near one hundred yards wide. About a mile beyond this river the country again became barren, the rocks everywhere projecting into the sea, for which reason they resolved to return.

During their stay at this island they were frequently very much annoyed by the thieving propensities of the natives, who were constantly picking their pockets, or committing depredations on them in some similar manner. Another thing which was particularly characteristic of the inhabitants was, their sudden change from passionate sorrow to excessive joy.

An amusing anecdote of one of the natives is thus related by Lieutenant Cook:—"About ten o'clock in the morning an Indian woman, of the name of Tomio, came running to the tents, with a mixture of grief and fear in her countenance, and taking Mr. Banks, to whom they applied in every emergency and distress, by the arm, intimated that her husband was dying, in consequence of something that our people had given him to eat, and that he must instantly go with her to his house. Mr. Banks set out without delay, and found his Indian

friend leaning his head against a post, in an attitude of the utmost languor and despondency: the people about him intimated that he had been vomiting, and brought out a leaf folded up with great care, which they said contained some of the poison, from the deleterious effects of which he was now dying. Mr. Banks hastily opened the leaf, and upon examining its contents, found them to be no other than a chew of tobacco, which this chief had begged of some of our people, and which they had indiscreetly given him. He had observed that they kept it long in the mouth, and being desirous of doing the same, he had chewed it to powder, and swallowed the spittle. During the examination of the leaf and its contents, he looked up at Mr. Banks with the most piteous aspect, and intimated that he had but a very short time to live. Mr. Banks, however, being now master of his disease, directed him to drink plentifully of cocoa-nut milk, which, in a short time, put an end to his sickness and apprehensions, and he spent the day at the fort with that uncommon flow of cheerfulness and good humour which is always produced by a sudden and unexpected relief from pain either of body or mind."

On the 1st of May, the observatory was set up, and the astronomical quadrant, with some other instruments, was taken thither for the first time. The next morning Lieutenant Cook went on shore with Mr. Green, to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when, to their inexpressible surprise and concern, it was not to be found. It had been deposited in the tent which was reserved for the captain, where, as he passed the night on board the ship, nobody slept. It had never been taken out of the packing-case, and the whole was of considerable weight. A sentinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent door; and none of the other instruments were missing. A large reward was offered to any one who could find it, as, without this, they could not perform the service for which the voyage was principally undertaken—the observation of the transit of Venus over the sun. After a great deal of uneasiness, it was ascertained that it had been stolen by the natives; and at last, but with considerable difficulty, it was recovered piecemeal.

As the day of observation now approached, Lieutenant Cook determined, in consequence of some hints which had been given him by Lord Morton, to send out two parties to observe the transit of Venus from other situations; hoping that, if he should fail at Otaheite, they might have better success. They were, therefore, now busily employed in preparing the instruments, and instructing such gentlemen in the use of them as Cook intended to send out.

On the 1st of June, two days before the time of transit, Lieutenant Cook despatched a party to Imao, and early on the following morning he sent another party to the eastward, with orders to fix on some convenient spot, at a distance from the principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose. The party sent to Imao successfully accomplished the object for which they set out; and the party sent to the eastward were equally fortunate in seeing the sun without a cloud. The transit was also well observed at the fort by Lieutenant Cook.



On the 13th of July, Lieutenant Cook left Otaheite, after having made a stay of just three months, for the greater part of which time he and his people lived with the natives in the most cordial friendship, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. The accidental differences which now and then happened, could not be more sincerely regretted by the visitors than they were by the visited. The principal causes were such as necessarily resulted from their peculiar situation and circumstances, in conjunction with the state of the people, from their not being able perfectly to understand each other, and from the disposition of the inhabitants to theft, which the voyagers could not at all times bear with, or prevent. These circumstances had not, however, except in one instance, been attended with any fatal consequences; and to that accident were owing the measures that Lieutenant Cook took to prevent others of the same kind.

Of his own intentions this commander says: "I hoped, indeed, to have availed myself of the impression which had been made upon them by the lives that had been sacrificed in their contest with the Dolphin, so as that the intercourse between us should have been carried on wholly without bloodshed; and by this hope all my measures were directed during the whole of my continuance at the island, and I sincerely wish that whoever shall next visit it may be still more fortunate. Our traffic here was carried on with as much order as in the best-regulated market in Europe. It was managed principally by Mr. Banks, who was indefatigable in procuring provision and refreshments while they were to be had; but during the latter part of our time they became scarce, partly by the increased consumption at the fort and the ship, and partly by the coming on of the season in which coconuts and bread fruit fail. All kinds of fruit we purchased for beads and nails, but no nails less than forty-penny were current. After a short time we could never get a pig of more than ten or twelve pounds for less than a hatchet, on account of the superfluity of spike nails.

"After parting with our friends, we made an easy sail, with gentle breezes and clear weather, and were informed by Tupia, an Indian who accompanied us, that four of the neighbouring islands, which he distinguished by the names of Huahine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bola-bola, lay at the distance of between one and two days' sail from Otaheite, and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, with which we had of late been but sparingly supplied, were there to be procured in great plenty; but, having discovered from the hills of Otaheite an island lying to the northward, which he called Tethuroa, I determined first to stand that way, to take a nearer view of it. It lies about eight leagues distant from the northern extremity of Otaheite, upon which we had, for that reason, given the name of Point Venus. We found it to be a small, low island, and were told by Tupia that it had no settled inhabitants, but it was occasionally visited by the inhabitants of Otaheite, who sometimes went thither for a few days to fish; we therefore determined to spend no more time in a farther examination of it, but to go in search of Huahine and Ulietea, which he described to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite.

"On the 15th it was hazy, with light breezes and calms succeeding



each other, so that we could see no land, and made but little way. Our Indian, Tupia, often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boasted of his success, which, indeed, he took a very effectual method to secure, for he never began his address to Tane till he saw a breeze so near, that he knew it must reach the ship before his oration was over.

"On the 16th we had a gentle breeze, and in the morning, about eight o'clock, being close in with the north-west part of the Island Huahine, we sounded, but had no bottom with eighty fathom. Some canoes very soon came off, but the people seemed afraid, and kept at a distance, till they discovered Tupia, then they ventured nearer. In one of the canoes that came up to the ship's side were the king of the island and his wife. Upon assurances of friendship, frequently and earnestly repeated, their majesties and some others came on board. At first they were struck with astonishment, and wondered at everything that was shown them; yet they made no inquiries, and seemed to be satisfied with what was offered to their notice; they made no search after other objects of curiosity, with which it was natural to suppose a building of such novelty and magnitude as the ship must abound. After some time they became more familiar. I was given to understand that the name of the king was Oree, and he proposed, as a mark of amity, that we should exchange names. To this I readily consented, and he was Cookee, for so he pronounced my name, and I was Oree, for the rest of the time we were together. We found these people to be very nearly the same with those of Otaheite in person, dress, language, and every other circumstance, except, if Tupia might be believed, that they would not steal.

"Soon after dinner we came to an anchor in a small but excellent harbour, on the west side of the island, which the natives call Owhare, in eighteen fathom water, clear ground, and secure from all winds. I went immediately ashore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, Tupia, King Cookee, and some other of the natives who had been on board ever since the morning. The moment we landed, Tupia stripped himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to do the same. He then sat down before a great number of the natives, who were collected together in a large house or shed, for here, as well as at Otaheite, a house consists only of a roof supported upon poles; the rest of us, by his desire, standing behind. He then began a speech, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the king, who stood over against him, every now and then answering in what appeared to be set responses. In the course of this harangue he delivered at different times two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads, two small bunches of feathers, and some plantains, as presents to their Eatua, or God. In return for these, he received for our Eatua, a hog, some young plantains, and two small bunches of feathers, which he ordered to be carried on board the ship. After these ceremonies, which we supposed to be the ratification of a treaty between us, every one was dismissed to go whither he pleased; and Tupia immediately prepared to offer his oblations at one of the Morais.

"The next morning we went on shore again, and walked up the

hills, where the productions were exactly the same as those of Otahete, except that the rocks and clay appeared to be more burnt. The houses were neat, and the boat-houses remarkably large; one that we measured was fifty paces long, ten broad, and twenty-four feet high. The whole formed a pointed arch, like those of our old cathedrals, which was supported on one side by twenty-six and on the other by thirty pillars, or rather posts, about two feet high and one thick, upon most of which were rudely carved the heads of men, and several fanciful devices, not altogether unlike those which we sometimes see printed from wooden blocks, at the beginning and end of old books. The plains, or flat part of the country, abounded in bread-fruit, and cocoa nut trees; in some places, however, there were salt swamps and lagoons, which would produce neither.

"The inhabitants seem to be larger made, and more stout, than those of Otahete. Mr. Banks measured one of the men, and found him to be six feet three inches and a half high; yet they are so lazy that he could not persuade any of them to go up the hills with him. They said, if they were to attempt it the fatigue would kill them. The women were very fair, more so than those of Otahete; and, in general, we thought them more handsome, though none that were equal to some individuals. Both sexes seemed to be less timid, and less curious. It has been observed that they made no inquiries on board the ship; and when we fired a gun they were frightened, indeed, but they did not fall down as our friends at Otahete constantly did when we first came among them. For this difference, however, we can easily account upon other principles; the people at Huaheine had not seen the *Dolphin*, those at Otahete had. In one, the report of a gun was connected with the idea of instant destruction; to the other there was nothing dreadful in it but the appearance and the sound, as they had never experienced its power of dispensing death.

"We had commenced a kind of trade with the natives, but it went on slowly; for when anything was offered, not one of them would take it upon his own judgment, but collected the opinions of twenty or thirty people, which could not be done without great loss of time. We got, however, eleven pigs, and determined to try for more the next day.

"The next day, therefore, we brought out some hatchets, for which we hoped we should have had no occasion, upon an island which no European had ever visited before. These procured us three very large hogs; and as we proposed to sail in the afternoon, King Oroo and several others came on board to take their leave. To the king I gave a small plate of pewter, on which was stamped this inscription: — 'His Britannic Majesty's ship, Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook commander, 16th July, 1769, Huaheine.' I gave him also some medals, or counters, resembling coin of England, struck in the year 1761, with some presents; and he promised that with none of these, particularly the plate, he would ever part. I thought it as lasting a testimony of our having first discovered this island as any we could leave behind; and having dismissed our visitors well satisfied, and in great good humour, we set sail, about half-an-hour after two in the afternoon.

"We now made sail for the island of Ulietea, which lies S. W. by



W., distant seven or eight leagues from Huaheine, and at half-an-hour after six in the evening we were within three leagues of the shore, on the eastern side. We stood off and on all night, and when the day broke the next morning we stood in for the shore. We soon after discovered an opening in the reef which lies before the island, within which Tupia told us there was a good harbour. I did not, however, implicitly take his word; but sent the master out in the pinnace to examine it. He soon made the signal for the ship to follow; and we accordingly stood in, and anchored in two-and-twenty fathom, with soft ground.

"The natives soon came off to us in two canoes, each of which brought a woman and a pig. The woman we supposed was a mark of confidence, and the pig was a present. We received both with proper acknowledgments, and complimented each of the ladies with a spike nail and some beads, much to their satisfaction. We were told by Tupia, who had always expressed much fear of the inhabitants of Bolabola, that they had made a conquest of this island; and that, if we remained here, they would certainly come down to-morrow and fight us. We determined, therefore, to go on shore without delay, while the day was our own.

"I landed in company with Mr. Banks, Dr Solander, and the other gentleman, Tupia being also of the party. He introduced us by repeating the ceremonies which he had performed at Huaheine, after which I hoisted an English jack, and took possession of this and the three neighbouring islands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola, which were all in sight, in the name of his Britannic Majesty."

After having proceeded to and examined Otaha and Bolabola, they pursued their course without any event worthy of note till the 13th of the following month, when they saw an island, which Tupia informed them was called Oheterva. On account, however, of the resistance made by the natives, and the want of anchorage, they did not land.

On the 7th of October they approached land, which proved to be what is now called New Zealand, and they soon came to an anchor in a fine bay. They were, however, unable in any way to form an acquaintance with the natives, who seemed both warlike and savage. In a short time they left this inhospitable place, being unable to procure provisions or water, and on this account Lieutenant Cook gave it the name of Poverty Bay. Having passed a little way from this place, they persuaded some of the natives to come on board, from canoes that approached them, where they were liberally supplied with presents. They had now many interviews with the natives, and excursions were frequently made into the country from different parts of the shore.

Among the things that particularly struck them was their manner of fortifying some of their villages. They are generally placed in places naturally difficult of access. One of these, called Wharretouwa, is situated upon a high promontory, or point, which projects into the sea, two of the sides being washed by the sea, and therefore altogether inaccessible. The whole is enclosed by a pallisade about ten feet high, consisting of strong pales bound together with withs; the weak sides next the land are also defended by a double ditch, the innermost of



which has a bank and an additional pallisade. The outermost pallisades are between the two ditches, and driven obliquely into the ground, so that their upper ends incline over the inner ditch. Close within the innermost pallisade is a stage, twenty feet high and forty feet long; it is supported by strong posts, and is intended as a station for those who defend the place, from which they may annoy the assailants by darts and stones, heaps of which lay ready for use; another stage of the same kind commands the steep avenue from the beach. The pallisades communicate with each other by narrow lanes, which might be easily stopp'd up, so that if an enemy should force the outward pallisade, he would have others to carry before the place could be wholly reduced, supposing these places to be obstinately defended, one after the other.

The only entrance is by a narrow passage, about twelve feet long, communicating with the steep ascent from the beach; it passes under one of the fighting stages, and though the visitors saw nothing like a door or gateway, it may be easily barricaded in a manner that will make the forcing it a very dangerous and difficult undertaking. Upon the whole, this must be considered as a place of great strength, in which a small number of resolute men may defend themselves against all the force which a people with no other arms than those in use here could bring against it. It seemed to be well furnished for a siege with everything but water; the visitors saw great quantities of fern-root, which were eaten as bread, and dried fish piled up in heaps; but they could not perceive that the natives had any fresh water nearer than a brook, which runs close under the foot of the hill. Whether they have any means of getting it from this place during a siege, or whether they have any method of storing it within the works, in gourds or other vessels, was not ascertained; some resources they certainly have with respect to this article, an indispensable necessary of life, for otherwise the laying up dry provisions could answer no purpose. The visitors also saw many other works of the same kind upon small islands, rocks, and ridges of hills, on different parts of the coast, besides many fortified towns, which appeared to be much superior to this.

Having left the bay in which they were, to which Lieutenant Cook gave the name of Mercury Bay, they proceeded along the coast till they approached a river of very considerable dimensions: and having sailed up for about fourteen miles, and finding the face of the country nearly the same, without any alteration in the course of the stream, which they had no hope of tracing to its source, they landed in order to take a view of the lofty trees which everywhere adorned its banks. Before they had walked a hundred yards into the wood, they met with one of them, which was almost twenty feet in girth at the height of six feet above the ground. Lieutenant Cook, having a quadrant with him, measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be ninety feet. It was as straight as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; so that there were about three hundred and sixty feet of solid timber, exclusive of the branches.

The river at this height is as broad as the Thames at Greenwich, and the tide of flood as strong; it is not, indeed, quite so deep, but

has water enough for vessels of more than a middle size, and a bottom of mud, so soft that nothing could take damage by running ashore. On account of the similarity between these two rivers, Lieutenant Cook named this one also the Thames.

Now pursuing their voyage, they touched at and examined many parts of the coast, and had frequent interviews with the natives. In one of their excursions into the country, they were horrified to find these people regularly and systematically practising the disgusting habit of eating the bodies of their enemies taken in battle. Of this revolting custom they had previously heard, but here it was proved by ocular demonstration.

Having arrived at a very convenient place, which they named Queen Charlotte's Sound, they careened the ship, and obtained a good supply of wood and water; they also caught fish in great abundance. They soon afterwards left this sound, and ranged the coast, making frequent excursions until they observed a point which they had previously remarked, and were therefore now convinced that they had at last circumnavigated this large island. Lieutenant Cook now determined to quit this country, and return home by such a route as might be most advantageous to the service; and upon this subject he therefore consulted with his officers. He had a strong desire to return by Cape Horn, because that would enable him finally to determine whether there is or not a southern continent; but against this it was a sufficient objection that they must have kept in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter, with a vessel which was not thought sufficient for such an undertaking. The same reason was urged against proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, with still more force, because no discovery of moment could be hoped for in that route; it was therefore resolved that they should return by the East Indies, and that with this view they should steer westward, till they should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till they should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found impracticable, it was further resolved that they should endeavour to fall in with the land, or islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros.

With this view, at break of day, on the 31st of March, 1770, they got under sail, and left New Zealand, and soon after arrived on the east coast of New Holland, now known by the name of New South Wales. Cook says:—"Being within four or five miles of the shore, we saw several of the natives walking briskly along, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders. We flattered ourselves that they were going to put her into the water, and come off to the ship, but finding ourselves disappointed, I determined to go on shore in the yawl, with as many as it would carry. I embarked, therefore, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and four rowers. We pulled for that part of the shore where the Indians appeared, near which four small canoes were lying at the water's edge. The Indians sat down upon the rocks, and seemed to wait for our landing; but to our great regret, when we came within about a quarter of a mile, they ran away into the woods. We determined, however, to go ashore, and endeavour to procure an interview, but in this we were again disap-



pointed, for we found so great a surf beating upon every part of the beach, that landing with our little boat was altogether impracticable. We were therefore obliged to content ourselves with gazing at such objects as presented themselves from the water.

"The canoes upon a near view seemed very much to resemble those of the smaller sort at New Zealand. We observed, that among the trees on the shore, which were not very large there was no under-wood, and could distinguish that many of them were of the palm kind, and some of them cabbage-trees. After many a wishful look, we were obliged to return, with our curiosity rather excited than satisfied, and about five in the evening got on board the ship. Having anchored in a fine bay, the boats were manned, and we set out from the ship, having Tupia of our party. We intended to land where we saw some people, and began to hope that, as they had little regarded the ship's coming into the bay, they would as little regard our coming on shore. In this, however, we were disappointed; for as soon as we approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute our landing, and the rest ran away.

"Each of these two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a short stick, which he seemed to handle as if it was a machine to assist him in managing or throwing the lance. They called to us in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a single word. They brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two and we were forty. I could not but admire their courage, and being very unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force between us, I ordered the boat to lie upon her oars. We then parleyed by signs for about a quarter of an hour, and to bespeak their good will, I threw them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and seemed to be much pleased with them. I then made signs that I wanted water, and, by all the means that I could devise, endeavoured to convince them that we would do them no harm. They now waved to us, and I was willing to interpret it as an invitation; but upon our putting the boat in, they came again to oppose us. One appeared to be a youth of about nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age.

"As I had now no other resource, I fired a musket between them. Upon the report, the youngest dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but, recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again in great haste. A stone was then thrown at us, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired with small shot, which struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was distant about one hundred yards. I now hoped that our contest was over, and immediately landed; but we had scarcely left the boat when he returned, and we then perceived that he had left the rock only to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up he threw a lance at us, and his comrade another; they fell where we stood thickets, but, happily, hurt nobody. A third musket with small shot was then fired at them, upon which one of them threw another lance, and both immediately ran away. If we had pursued, we might probably have taken one of them; but Mr. Banks suggest-



ing that the lances might be poisoned, I thought it not prudent to venture into the woods.

"We repaired immediately to the huts, in one of which we found some children, who had hidden themselves behind a shield and some bark; we peeped at them, but left them in their retreat, without their knowing that they had been discovered; and we threw into the house when we went away some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents, which we hoped would procure us the good will of the inhabitants when they should return; but the lances which we found lying about, we took away with us, to the number of about fifty. They were from six to fifteen feet long, and all of them had four prongs, each of which was pointed with fish-bone, and very sharp. We observed that they were smeared with a viscous substance of a green colour, which favoured the opinion of their being poisoned, though we afterwards discovered that it was a mistake. They appeared, by the sea-weed which we found sticking to them, to have been used in striking fish. Upon examining the canoes that lay upon the beach, we found them to be the worst we had ever seen. They were between twelve and fourteen feet long, and made of the bark of a tree in one piece, which was drawn together, and tied up at each end, the middle being kept open by sticks, which were placed across them from gunwale to gunwale." After several ineffectual attempts to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives, the voyagers left this place, to which, on account of the great quantity of plants collected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, Lieutenant Cook gave the name of Botany Bay.

Having departed from Botany Bay, they ranged along the coast until they arrived at another bay, to which the commander gave the name of Trinity Bay. In their passage however from this place they were placed in a very dangerous situation. "Observing," says Cook, "two low, woody islands, which some of us took to be rocks above water, we shortened sail, and hauled off shore close upon a wind; for it was my design to stretch off all night, as well to avoid the danger we saw a-head as to see whether any islands lay in the offing, especially as we were now near the latitude assigned to the islands which were discovered by Quiros, and which some geographers, for what reason I know not, have thought fit to join to this land. We had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night, and in standing off from six till near nine o'clock, we deepened our water from fourteen to twenty-one fathoms, but while we were at supper it suddenly shoaled, and we fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathoms, within the space of a few minutes. I immediately ordered everybody to his station, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor; but meeting at the next cast of the lead with deep water again, we concluded that we had gone over the tail of the shoals which we had seen at sunset, and that all danger was past. Before ten, we had twenty and one-and-twenty fathoms, and this depth continuing, the gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to bed, but, a few minutes before eleven, the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathoms, and before the lead could be cast again, the ship strack, and remained immoveable, except by the heaving of the surge, that beat her against the crags of the rock upon which she lay.

"In a few moments everybody was upon the deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of our situation. We had stood off the shore three hours and a half, with a pleasant breeze, and therefore knew that we could not be very near it, and we had too much reason to conclude that we were upon a rock of coral, which is more fatal than any other, because the points of it are sharp, and every part of the surface so rough as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, even with the gentlest motion. In this situation all the sails were immediately taken in, and the boats hoisted out to examine the depth of water round the ship. We soon discovered that our fears had not aggravated our misfortunes, and that the vessel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it. In some places there are from three to four fathoms, and in others not so many feet. An anchor was put out from the stern, and having taken ground, our utmost force was applied to the capstan, hoping that if the anchor did not come home, the ship would be got off; but to our great misfortune and disappointment we could not move her.

"During all this time she continued to beat with great violence against the rock, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that we kept upon our legs; and to complete the scene of distress, we saw by the light of the moon the sheathing boards from the bottom of the vessel floating away around her, and at last her false keel; so that every moment was making way for the sea to rush in which was to swallow us up. We had now no chance but to lighten her, and we had lost the opportunity of doing that to the greatest advantage, for, unhappily, we went on shore just at high water, and by this time it had considerably fallen, so that after she should be lightened so as to draw as much less water as the water had sunk, we should be but in the same situation as at first; and the only alleviation of this circumstance was, that, as the tide ebbed, the ship settled to the rocks, and was not beaten against them with so much violence. We had, indeed, some hope from the next tide, but it was doubtful whether she would hold together so long. That no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up; six of our guns, being all we had upon the deck, our iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop-staves, oil-jars, decayed stores, and many other things that lay in the way of heavier materials, were thrown overboard with the utmost expedition, every one exerting himself with an alacrity amounting almost to cheerfulness, and without the least repining or discontent.

"While we were thus employed, day broke upon us, and we saw the land at about eight leagues distance, without any island in the intermediate space upon which, if the ship had gone to pieces, we might have been set ashore by the boats, and from which they might have taken us, by different turns, to the main. The wind, however, gradually died away, and early in the forenoon it was a dead calm; if it had blown hard, the ship must inevitably have been destroyed. At eleven in the forenoon we expected high water, and anchors were got out, and everything got ready for another effort to heave her off if she should float; but, to our inexpressible surprise and concern, she did not float by a foot and a half, though we had lightened her nearly fifty tons, so much did the day tide fall short of that in the night. We



now proceeded to lighten her still more, and threw overboard everything that it was possible for us to spare. Hitherto she had not admitted much water, but as the tide fell, it rushed in so fast that two pumps, incessantly worked, could scarcely keep her free. At two o'clock she lay heeling two or three streaks to starboard, and the pinnacle which lay under her bows touched the ground; we had now no hope but from the tide at midnight, and to prepare for it we carried out our two bower anchors, one on the starboard quarter and the other right astern, got the blocks and tackle, which were to give us a purchase upon the cables, in order, and brought the falls, or ends of them, in abaft, straining them tight, that the next effort might operate upon the ship, and by shortening the length of the cable between that and the anchors, draw her off the ledge upon which she rested towards the deep water.

"About five o'clock in the afternoon we observed the tide begin to rise, but we observed at the same time that the leak increased to a most alarming extent, so that two more pumps were manned, but unhappily only one of them would work; three of the pumps, however, were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted, but the leak had gained upon us so considerably that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. This was a dreadful circumstance, so that we anticipated the floating of the ship not as an earnest of deliverance, but as an event that would probably precipitate our destruction. We well knew that our boats were not capable of carrying us all on shore, and when the dreadful crisis should arrive, as all command and subordination would be at an end, a contest for preference would probably ensue, that would increase even the horrors of shipwreck, and terminate in the destruction of us all by the hands of each other; yet we knew that if any should be left on board to perish in the waves, they would probably suffer less upon the whole than those who should get on shore, without any lasting or effectual defence against the natives, in a country where even nets and fire-arms would scarcely furnish them with food, and where, if they should find the means of subsistence, they must be condemned to languish out the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the possession or even hope of any domestic comfort, and cut off from all commerce with mankind, except the naked savages who prowled the desert, and who, perhaps, were some of the most rude and uncivilised upon the earth.

"To those only who have waited in a state of such suspense, death has approached in all its terrors; and, as the dreadful moment that was to determine our fate came on, every one saw his own sensations pictured in the countenances of his companions. However, the capstan and windlass were manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, and, the ship floating, the effort was made, and she was heaved into deep water. It was some comfort to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock; and though, by the gaining of the leaks upon the pumps, there was no less than three feet nine inches of water in the hold, yet the men did not relinquish their labour, and we held the water as it were at bay; but having now endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind,



for more than four and twenty hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, they began to flag. None of them could work at the pump more than five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps between three and four inches deep; when those who had succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others started up again, and renewed their labour.

“It was, however, impossible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak; and as the exact situation of it could not be discovered, we had no hope of stopping it within. In this situation, Mr. Monkhouse, one of my midshipmen, came to me and proposed an expedient, which he had previously seen successfully tried, called, ‘fothering a ship.’” This was very providentially attempted, and was probably the means of saving them.

After some little examination, they found a small harbour to refit the ship, and the only thing that prevented her from sinking, was a large piece of a rock, broken off and sticking in the largest hole, which impeded the entrance of the water. Here they repaired the ship, procured some refreshments, landed the sick and stores, made a variety of excursions by land and water to the neighbouring places, and, for the first time, saw the animal now known as the kangaroo.

Three Indians visited Tupia’s tent, and after remaining some time, one of them went for two others, whom he introduced by name. Some fish was offered, but they seemed not much to regard it, and, after eating a little, gave the remainder to Mr. Banks’s dog. Some ribbons given them, to which medals were suspended round their necks, were so changed by smoke that it was difficult to judge what colour they had been, and the smoke had made their skins look darker than their natural colour; from whence it was thought that they slept close to their figures, as a preventive against the sting of the musquitoes. Both the strangers had bones through their noses, and a piece of bark tied over the forehead, and one had an ornament of strings round his arm, and an elegant necklace made of shells. Their canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four persons, and when in shallow water they moved it by means of poles. Their lances had only a single point, and some of them were barbed with fish bones. The ship’s crew fed on turtle almost every day, which were finer than those eaten in England, owing to their being killed before their natural fat was wasted, and their juices changed.

They sailed hence on the 13th of August, 1770, and got through one of the channels in the reef; happy to be once more in an open sea, after having been surrounded by dreadful shoals and rocks for nearly three months, during all which run they had been obliged to keep sounding without the intermission of a single minute; a circumstance which, it is supposed, never happened to any ship but the Endeavour. On the following day they steered a westerly course to get sight of the land, that a passage between that land and New Guinea might not be missed, if there were any such passage. This day the boats went out

to fish, and met with great success, particularly in catching cockles, some of which were of such an amazing size as to require the strength of two men to move them. Previous to their leaving, Lieutenant Cook displayed the English colours, and took possession of all the eastern coast of the country, from the 38th degree of south latitude to the present spot, by the name of New South Wales, for his sovereign the King of Great Britain; upon which three volleys of small arms were fired, and answered by an equal number from the Endeavour.

New South Wales is a much larger country than any hitherto known, not deemed a continent, being larger than all Europe; which is proved by the Endeavour having coasted more than two thousand miles, even if her track had been reduced to a straight line. At that time it did not appear much inhabited; not above thirty persons being ever seen together but once, when those of both sexes and all ages got together on a rock off Botany bay to view the ship. The men are well made, of the middle size, and active in a high degree; but their voices are soft even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate, but so covered with dirt as to look almost as black as negroes. The women were seen only at a distance, as the men constantly left them behind. The chief ornament of these people is the bone thrust through the nose, which the sailors whimsically termed their sprit-sail yard; but besides this they wore necklaces formed of shells, a small cord tied twice or thrice round the arm, between the shoulder and the elbow, and a string of plaited human hair round the waist. Their huts are built with small rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground, so as to form the figure of an oven, and covered with pieces of bark and palm leaves. The door, which is only high enough to sit upright in, is opposite the fire-place; they sleep with their heels turned up towards their heads, and even in this posture the hut will not hold more than four people. They feed on the kangaroo, on several kinds of birds, on yams, and various other kinds of fruit, but the principal article of subsistence is fish. Their method of producing fire is singular: having wrought one end of a stick into an obtuse point, they placed this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright stick very fast backward and forward between their hands, the fire is soon produced. Having left New South Wales, Lieutenant Cook successively touched at New Guinea, Saow, and Batavia, from which place he sailed to the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in England on the 12th of June, 1771.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CAPTAIN COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

CAPTAIN Cook again sailed from Deptford, on the 9th of April, 1772, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, in the Adventure. After a voyage of several months, they crossed the Antarctic circle, in the longitude of 39 deg. 35 min. E., and in the latitude of 66 deg. 36 min. 30 sec. S. The weather was tolerably clear, so that they could see several leagues around them, and yet one day they had only seen one island of ice since the morning; but about four p.m.

as they were steering to the south, they observed the whole sea in a manner covered with ice, from the direction of S.E. round by the S. to W.

In this space thirty-eight ice islands, great and small, were seen, besides loose ice in abundance, so that they were obliged to luff for one piece, and bend up for another; and as they continued to advance to the south, it so much increased that at three quarters past six o'clock they could proceed no further, the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from E. to W.S.W., without the least appearance of any opening. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice, such as high hills, loose or broken pieces packed close together, and what is called by Greenland men, field ice. A float of this kind lay to the S.E., of such extent, that no end of it could be observed from the mast-head. It was at least sixteen or eighteen feet high, and appeared of a pretty equal height and surface. Here many whales were seen playing about the ice, and for two days before there had been observed several flocks of the brown and white pintadoes, which the navigators called Antarctic petrels, because they appeared to be natives of that region. In every respect they were shaped like the pintadoes, differing from them only in colour. The head and fore part of the body of these were brown, and the hind part of the body, tail, and wings were white. The white petrel also appeared in great numbers, with some few dark grey albatrosses, and the constant companions of the navigators, the blue petrel. But the common pintadoes had quite disappeared, as well as many other sorts, which are common in lower latitudes.

It was not thought at all prudent, after meeting with the ice, to persevere in getting further to the south; especially as the summer was already half spent, and it would have taken some time to have got round the ice, even supposing it to have been practicable, which, however, was doubtful. On the 9th of February, 1773, when the weather cleared up, they could see several leagues round. At ten o'clock of the 25th of March, the land of New Zealand was seen from the mast-head, and at noon, from the deck, extending from N.E. by E. to E., distant ten leagues. After running about two leagues up Dusky Bay, and passing several of the isles which lay in it, they brought to, hoisted out two boats, and anchored in fifty fathoms water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. This was on the 26th of March, after having sailed 10,980 miles, without having once sight of land.

On the following day they got under sail with a light breeze, and working over to Pickersgill harbour, entered it by a channel scarcely twice the width of the ship; and in a small creek moored head and stern, so near the shore as to reach it with a stage, which nature had provided in a large tree, whose top reached the gunwale. In the evening they had a short interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the first that discovered themselves on the north-east point of Indian island, named so on this occasion. The man halloed to them. He stood, with his club in his hand, upon the point of a rock; and behind, at the skirts of the wood, stood the two women, each with a spear. The man could not help



discovering great signs of fear when they approached the rock with the boat. He, however, stood firm; nor did he move to take up some things they threw him ashore. At length Captain Cook landed, and presented him with such articles as at once dissipated his fears. Presently after they were joined by the two women, the other gentleman, and some of the seamen. After this they spent half an hour in a chit chat, little understood on either side, in which the younger of the two women bore by far the greater share. Having fine geese left out of those brought from the Cape of Good Hope, they went with them next morning to Goose Cave, named so on this account. They chose this place, for here were no inhabitants to disturb them, and here being the most food the geese would breed, and might spread over the whole country, fully answering the intention of leaving them.

The country is exceedingly mountainous, not only about Dusky Bay, but through all the southern part of the western coast of Tavaï Poenamoo; but the land bordering on the sea coast, and all the islands, are thickly clothed with wood, almost down to the water's edge. The trees are of various kinds, and are fit for the shipwright, the house carpenter, and the cabinet maker, as well as for many other uses. Except in the river Thames, there is not finer timber in all New Zealand. What Dusky Bay most abounds with is fish; a boat with six or eight men, with hooks and lines, caught daily sufficient to serve the whole ship's company. Of this article the variety is almost equal to the plenty. The shell-fish are muscles, cockles, scallops, crayfish, and many other sorts. The only amphibious animals are seals; these are to be found in great numbers about this bay, on the small rocks and isles near the sea coast.

After leaving Dusky Bay they directed their course along shore for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they expected to meet the Adventure, which hope, after an absence of fourteen weeks, they were delighted to find was realised.

One of the first questions the natives asked was for Tupia, the person brought from Otaheite on the former voyage; and they expressed some concern when told he was dead. It was said that some of the visitors offered their children for sale, Captain Cook found, however, that this was a mistake. The report first took rise on board the Adventure, where they were utter strangers to the language and customs of the people. It was very common for them to bring their children with them, and present them to the officers, in expectation that they would make them presents; this happened to Captain Cook. "A man," he says, "brought his son, a boy about nine or ten years of age, and presented him to me. As the report of selling their children was then current, I thought, at first, that he wanted me to buy the boy. But at last I found that he wanted me to give him a white shirt, which I accordingly did. The boy was so fond of his new dress, that he went all over the ship, presenting himself before every one that came in his way. This freedom used by him offended Old Will, the ram goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not some of the people come to the boy's assistance. The misfortune, however, seemed to be irreparable. The shirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to

appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr. Foster, when he told a very lamentable story against goury the great dog (for so they called all the quadrupeds we had aboard), nor could he be reconciled till his shirt was washed and dried. This story, though extremely trifling in itself, will show how liable we are to mistake these people's meaning, and to ascribe to them customs they never knew even in thought."

Having put to sea, the two ships in a few weeks arrived at Otaheite. Most of the natives knew Captain Cook again, and many inquired for Mr. Banks and others who were there before, but not one asked for Tupia. The next morning they anchored in Outi-piha Bay, in twelve fathoms water, about two cables' length from the shore. It was not till now that any one inquired after Tupia, and then but two or three. As soon as they learned the cause of his death they were quite satisfied; indeed, it did not appear that it would have occasioned a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one, had his death arisen from any other means than sickness. But they were continually asking for Mr. Banks, and several others who were in the former voyage.

Before the vessels got to an anchor in Matavia Bay, their decks were crowded with the natives; many of whom the captain knew, and almost all of them knew him. Soon after, Otoo, the king, attended by a numerous train, paid them a visit. He first sent into the ship a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fish; and, after some persuasion, came on board himself, with his sister, a younger brother, and several more of his attendants. To all of them were made presents; and, after breakfast, the captain took the king, his sister, and as many more as he had room for, into his boat, and carried them home to Oparee. He had no sooner landed than he was met by a venerable old lady, the mother of the late Toutaha; she seized both his hands, and burst into a flood of tears, saying, "Toutaha Tiyo no Totee matty Toutaha." (Toutaha, your friend, or the friend of Cook, is dead.) "I was so much affected," says Cook, "with her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for me to have retained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her. I, with some difficulty, prevailed on him to let me see her again, when I gave her an axe and some other things."

"One of the officers on the quarter-deck," says Captain Furneaux, "intended to drop a bead into a canoe for a little boy about six years old; by accident it missed the boat and fell into the sea, but the child immediately leaped overboard, and diving after it, brought it up again. To reward his performance, we dropped some more beads to him, which so tempted a number of men and women, that they amused us with amazing feats of agility in the water, and not only fetched up several beads scattered at once, but likewise large nails, which on account of their weight, descended quickly to a considerable depth. Some of them continued a long time under water, and the velocity with which we saw them go down, the water being perfectly clear, was very surprising. The frequent ablutions of these people seem to make swimming familiar to them from their earliest childhood; and, indeed, their easy posture in the water, and the pliancy of their limbs, gave us reason to look on them as almost amphibious creatures."



Trifling ornaments were most eagerly coveted by all ages and sexes, often prized much above any other European goods however useful, so prevalent and powerful is the love of ornament in our species. "The methods to obtain them from us," says Cook, "were very different, and consequently not always successful. When we distributed a few beads to one set of people, some young fellows would impudently thrust their hands in between them, and demand their share, as though it had been their due; these attempts we always made it our business to discourage by a flat refusal. It was already become difficult to deny a venerable old man, who, with a hand not yet palsied by age, vigorously pressed ours, and with a perfect reliance upon our good nature, whispered the petition in our ears. The elderly ladies, in general, made sure of a prize by a little artful flattery. They commonly enquired our names, and then adopted us as their sons, at the same time introducing to us the several relations whom we acquired by this means. After a series of little caresses, the old lady began—'Aima poe, eete no te tayo mettua?'—Have you not a little bead for your kind mother? Such a trial of our filial attachment always had its desired effect, as we could not fail to draw the most favourable conclusions from thence in regard to the general kind disposition of the people; for to expect a good quality in others, of which we ourselves are not possessed, is a refinement in manners peculiar in polished nations. Our other female relations, in the bloom of youth, with some share of beauty, and constant endeavours to please, laid a claim to our affections by giving themselves the tender name of sisters; and all the world will agree that this attack was perfectly irresistible."

We here introduce an illustration of a chief of Rarotonga, an island but a little way removed from Otaheite. His imposing head-dress, his fan, and the peculiar manner of tattooing will be especially remarked.

On the first of September the ships unmoored. Some hours before they got under sail, a young man, whose name was Porco, came and desired the captain would take him with him: the captain consented, thinking he might be of service on some occasion. As soon as they



A CHIEF OF RAROTONGA.



were clear of the bay, they directed their course for the Island of Huahine, and made it the next day. At day-light in the morning of the 3rd, they made sail for the harbour of Owharre; in which the *Resolution* anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms water. The good old chief, Oreo, soon after made them a visit, together with some of his friends, bringing a hog and some fruit; for which they made him a suitable return. He carried his kindness so far, as not to fail to send every day the very best of ready dressed fruit and roots, and in great plenty. Before they quitted this island, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, where he had some property, of which he had been dispossessed by the people of Bolabola.

They now made sail for Ulietea. On the morning of the next day, they made a formal visit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the isle carrying the necessary presents. They went through no sort of ceremony on landing, but were at once conducted to Oreo. He was seated in his own house, which stood near the water-side, where he and his friends received their visitors with great cordiality. Oreo expressed much satisfaction at seeing the captain again, and desired they might exchange names; this is considered the strongest mark of friendship these islanders can show to a stranger. Oreo inquired after Tupia, and all the gentlemen by name, who were with Cook when he first visited the island.

After leaving Ulietea, they steered to the west, inclining to the south, to get clear of the tracts of former navigators, and to get into the latitude of the islands of Middleburgh and Amsterdam. On the 1st of October they made the former of these two islands, and two canoes, each conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongside; and some of them entered the ship without hesitation. As soon as all were on board, they made sail to Amsterdam. The people of this island were so little afraid that some met them in three canoes about midway between the two isles. Mr. Forster and his party went botanizing, and several of the officers were out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives. They had also a brisk trade for cocoa-nuts, yams, pigs, and fowls; all of which were produced for nails and pieces of cloth. A boat from each ship was employed in trading ashore, and bringing off their cargoes as soon as they were laden, which was generally in a short time. By this method they got cheaper, and with less trouble, a good quantity of fruit, as well as other refreshments, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ships.

Amsterdam, or as the natives call it, Tongataboo, is wholly laid out in plantations, in which are planted some of the richest productions of nature, such as bread-fruit, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, shaddocks, yams, and some other roots, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine; in short, here are most of the articles which the Society Islands produce, besides some which they have not. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in so judicious a manner as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to another. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience re-

quires; they are neatly constructed, but do not surpass those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built are the same, and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The visitors saw no domestic animals but hogs and fowls; the former are of the same sort as at the other isles in this sea, but the latter are far superior, being as large as any in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. They saw no dogs; it is believed they have none, as they were exceedingly desirous of those on board.

The two vessels which compose their double canoes are each about sixty or seventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle, and each end terminates nearly in a point. Two such vessels are fastened to, and parallel with each other, about six or seven feet asunder, by strong cross-beams, secured by bandages to the upper part of the risings. Over these beams, and some others which are supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. All the parts which compose the double canoe are made as strong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immersed in water to the very platform without being in danger of filling. Nor is it possible, under any circumstances whatever, for them to sink, so long as they hold together. Thus they are not only vessels of burden, but fit for distant navigation. They are rigged with one mast, with steps upon the platform, and can easily be raised or taken down. For an illustration of one of these canoes we must refer the reader to the earlier part of the account of Commodore Byron's voyage. The working tools of the natives are made of stone, bone, shells, &c., as at the other islands. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and such trifles; some, but very few, would exchange a pig for a large nail or hatchet. Old jackets, shirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more esteem than the best edge-tool, and, consequently, they got but few axes but what were given them as presents.

In about a fortnight after leaving this place, the voyagers made the land of New Zealand. November the 2nd, a gale abated, and was succeeded by a few hours calm; after that a breeze sprung up in the north-west, with which they weighed, and ran up into Ship Cove, where they did not find the *Adventure*, which had separated a day or two before, from not observing a signal, as was expected, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. In the afternoon some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, where they saw the head and bowels of a youth, who had lately been killed, lying on the beach, and the heart stuck on a forked stick, which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head, and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. That the New Zealanders are cannibals could not thenceforward be doubted.

On the 25th the navigators weighed, with a light breeze, out of the cove. On the 26th they took their departure from Cape Palliser, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, having a favourable gale from the north-west and south-west. At four o'clock on the 12th of

December, being in lat. of 62 deg. 10 min. S., long. 172 deg. W., they saw the first ice island, eleven and a half degrees farther south than the first ice seen the preceding year, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. The 17th, falling in with a quantity of loose ice, they hoisted out two boats, and by noon got on board as much as they could manage. The clear weather, and the wind veering to the north-west, tempted them to steer south, which course they continued till the morning of the 20th, when the wind changing to north-east, and the sky becoming clouded, they hauled up south-east. In the afternoon the wind increased to a strong gale, attended with a thick fog, snow, sleet, and rain. The rigging at this time was so loaded with ice that they had enough to do to get the topsails down to double the reef. On January 1st, 1771, the wind remained not long at east, but veered round by the south to the west; blew fresh, attended with snow showers. In the evening they passed two islands of ice; after which they saw no more till they stood again to the south.

On the 30th they perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusually snow-white brightness, which they knew denoted their approach to field-ice. Captain Cook here says:—"I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get farther to the south; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind, or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which are always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice some penguins were heard, but none seen, and but few other birds, or any other thing that could induce us to think that any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption, as it in some measure relieved us, at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch further to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north."

The navigators now arrived at Easter Island; and, having anchored, Captain Cook landed on the sandy beach, where some hundreds of the natives were assembled, who were so impatient to see him and his companions, that many swam off to meet the boats. Not one had so much as a stick or weapon of any sort. After distributing a few trinkets among them, the officers made signs for something to eat; on which the natives brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-



glasses, and pieces of cloth. Their visitors presently discovered that they were as expert thieves, and as disposed to tricking in their exchanges, as any people yet met with. It was with some difficulty they could keep the hats on their heads, but hardly possible to keep anything in their pockets, not even what the natives had sold to them; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it again, so that the visitors sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

The gigantic statues, so often mentioned, are not, in their opinion, looked upon as idols by the present inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch, at least they saw nothing that could induce them to think so. The statues, or at least many of them, are erected on platforms, which serve as foundations. They are, as near as could be judged, about half lengths, ending in a sort of stump at the bottom, on which they stand. The workmanship is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill-formed, the nose and chin in particular, but the ears are long beyond proportion; and, as to the bodies, there is hardly anything like a human figure about them.

The navigators thence proceeded to the Marquesas, and then made Otaheite, and anchored in Matavia Bay. This was no sooner known to the natives than many made a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing them again. In the course of two or three days, Otoo, the king, and several other chiefs, with a train of attendants, brought as presents ten or a dozen large hogs, besides fruits, which made them exceedingly welcome.

Two days after Captain Cook went down to Oparee, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit by appointment. As they drew near they observed a number of large canoes in motion; but were surprised, when they arrived, to see upwards of 300 ranged in order, for some distance along the shore, all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. The vessels of war consisted of 160 large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. The chiefs, and all those on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war-habits—that is, in a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breast-plates, and helmets; some of the latter were of such a length as greatly to incumber the wearer. Indeed their whole dress seemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be designed more for show than use. The vessels were decorated with flags, streamers, &c.; so that the whole made an imposing appearance, such as they never had seen before in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. The canoes were ranged close alongside of each other, with their heads ashore and their sterns to the sea, the admiral's vessel being nearly in the centre. Besides the vessels of war, there were 170 sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These were designed for transports, victuallers, &c.; for in the war-canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these 330 vessels there were no less than 7,760 men—a number which appears incredible, especially as it was said they all belonged to the districts of Atta-

hourou and Ahopatea. In this computation there were allowed to each war-canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the small canoes eight. Most of the gentlemen thought the number of men belonging to the war-canoe was still greater. When they got to Matavia, their friends there told them that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and assumed an independency.

After having touched at some other islands, Captain Cook and his party anchored at Amattafoa, when several of the natives came off in canoes. They were very cautious at first, but at last trusted themselves alongside, and exchanged, for pieces of cloth, arrows, some of which were pointed with bone, and dipped in some green gummy substance, which was supposed to be poisonous. Two men having ventured on board, after a short stay, were sent away with presents. The people of Mallicollo seemed to be quite a different nation from any yet met with, and to speak a different language. Of about eighty words, which Mr. Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place they had previously visited.

Continuing a course to the south, they drew near the southern lands, which were found to consist of one large island, and three or four smaller ones, lying off its north side. The two northernmost are much the larger, and are of a good height. They named the one Montagu, the other Hinchinbroke, and the large island Sandwich. At sunrise, having discovered a new land, bearing south, making three hills, this occasioned them to tack and stand towards it. Many of the natives got together in parties, on several parts of the shore, all armed with bows and spears. Some swam off, others came in canoes. At first they were shy, and kept at the distance of a stone's throw; they grew, however, insensibly bolder, and, at last, came under the stern and made some exchanges. During the night a volcano, which was about four miles to the west, threw up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also done the night before; at every eruption it made a long rumbling noise, like that of thunder, or the blowing-up of large mines.

The preceding day Mr. Forster learned from the people the proper name of the island, which they call Tanna. The produce is bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, a fruit like a nectarine, yams, tarra, a sort of potato, sugar-canes, wild figs, a fruit like an orange, which is not eatable, and other fruits and nuts. The bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, and plantains, are neither so plentiful nor so good as at Otaheite; on the other hand, sugar-canes and yams are not only in greater plenty, but of superior quality, and much larger. The people are of the middle size, rather slender; many are little, but few tall or stout; most of them have good features and agreeable countenances; like all the tropical race, they are active and nimble; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. Both sexes are of a very dark colour, but not black; nor have they the least characteristic of the negro about them. They make themselves blacker than they really are, by painting their faces with a pigment of the colour of black lead. The navigators named the harbour Port Resolution,

after the ship, she being the first that ever entered it. On the 20th of September, as they were steering to the south, land was discovered bearing south-south-west. Breakers were seen about half-way between them and the shore; and behind, two or three canoes under sail, standing out to sea, as if their design had been to come off. They had hardly got to an anchor at another island, before they were surrounded by a great number of the natives, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, most of whom were without any sort of weapons. On shore they found the same chief who had been seen in one of the canoes in the morning, his name was Teabooma; and they had not been on shore above ten minutes, before he called for silence. Being instantly obeyed by every individual present, he made a short speech; and soon after another chief, having called for silence, made a speech also. It was pleasing to see with what attention they were heard. Their speeches were composed of short sentences; to each of which two or three old men answered, by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, significant of approbation.

The inhabitants are a strong, robust, active, well-made people, courteous and friendly, and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other tribe in this sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race, a few being seen who measured six feet four inches; some had thick lips, flat noses, and full cheeks, and, in some degree, the features and look of a negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an idea: first, their rough mop heads; and, secondly, their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and beards are in general black. The former is very much frizzled, so that, at first sight, it appears like that of a negro. It is, nevertheless, very different; though both coarser and stronger than ours. The general ornaments for both sexes are ear-rings of tortoise-shell, necklaces or amulets, made both of shells and stones, and bracelets made of large shells, which they wear over the elbow. The voyagers called the island New Caledonia; and, if we except New Zealand, it is, perhaps, the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean. It is about eighty-seven leagues long; but its breadth is not considerable, nor anywhere exceeding ten leagues. It is a country full of hills and valleys, of various extents, both for height and depth. On the 10th of the following month they discovered Norfolk Island.

After leaving this isle they steered for New Zealand, their intention being to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound to refresh the crew, and put the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes. On the 17th, at day-break, they saw Mount Egmont, covered with everlasting snow. At midnight they tacked and made a trip to the north, till three o'clock next morning, when they bore away for the Sound. On the next day they went into the cove, with the seine, to try to catch some fish. Two hauls with the seine producing only four small fish, they, in some measure, made up for this deficiency by shooting several birds, which the flowers in the garden had drawn thither, as also some old shags, and by robbing the nests of some young ones. In the afternoon Mr. Wales, in setting up his observa-



tory, discovered that several trees, which were standing when they last sailed from this place, had been cut down with saws and axes; and a few days after, the place where an observatory, clock, &c., had been set up, was also found in a spot different from that where Mr. Wales had placed his. It was, therefore, now no longer to be doubted that their consort, the *Adventurer*, had been in this cove after they had left it.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning two canoes were seen coming down the Sound; but as soon as they perceived the ships, they retired behind the point on the west side. After breakfast the navigators went in a boat to look for them, and as they proceeded along the shore shot several birds. The report of the muskets gave notice of their approach, and the natives discovered themselves in Shag Cove, by hallooing; but as their habitations were approached, they all fled to the woods, except two or three men, who stood on a rising ground near the shore, with their arms in their hands. The moment they landed, the natives knew them. Joy then took the place of fear, and the rest hurried out of the woods, and repeatedly embraced the visitors, leaping and skipping about like madmen. There were only a few among them whose faces they could recognise, and on asking why they were afraid, and inquiring for some of their old acquaintances by name, they heard much about killing, which was so variously understood that nothing could be gathered from it, so that, after a short stay, they took leave, and went on board.

On the 31d of October, Mr. Pickersgill met with some of the natives, who related to him the story of a ship being lost, and the people being killed, but added, with great earnestness, it was not done by them. Early in the morning of the 5th, their old friends made Cook a visit, and brought a seasonable supply of fish. At the same time the captain embarked in the pinnace, with Messrs. Forster and Sparrman, in order to proceed up the Sound. He was desirous of finding the termination of it, or rather of seeing if he could find any passage out to sea by the south-east, as he suspected one, from some discoveries made when first here. In their way up, however, they met with some fishers, of whom they made the necessary inquiry, and they all agreed that there was no passage to the sea by the head of the sound.

Their old friends having taken up their abode close by, one of them, whose name was Pedro, made Cook a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs generally carry. In return he dressed Pedro in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. He had a fine person, and nothing but his colour distinguished him from an European. Having got him and another into a communicative mood, the visitors began to inquire if the *Adventure* had been there during their absence, and they gave them to understand, in a manner which admitted of no doubt, that soon after they were gone she arrived; that she staid between ten and twenty days, and had left ten months. They likewise asserted that neither she nor any other ship had been stranded on the coast, as had been reported.

Leaving this place, the mariners rounded Cape Horn, then ranged from Cape Deseada to Christmas Sound, and in due time arrived at

the Cape of Good Hope, after having made a few additional discoveries. They learned here from some English seamen that the Adventure had arrived at this place twelve months before, and that the crew of one of her boats had been murdered and eaten by the people of New Zealand; so that what they had heard in Queen Charlotte's Sound was no longer a mystery, a report which was afterwards fully confirmed. On the 29th of June they made the land near Plymouth. The next morning they anchored at Spithead, and the same day Capt. Cook landed at Portsmouth, and set out for London, in company with Messrs. Wales, Forsters, and Hodges, and also with Omai, whom they had brought from the Society Islands.

## CHAPTER V.

### CAPTAIN COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

CAPTAIN COOK having, on the 9th of February, 1776, received a commission to command his Majesty's sloop the Resolution, went on board the next day, hoisted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the same time the Discovery, of three hundred tons burthen, was bought into the service, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been Cook's second lieutenant on board the Resolution in his second voyage.

As they were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity—the only one ever likely to happen—of carrying Omai back to his native country. He left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. He was furnished by his majesty with an ample supply of every article which, during the intercourse with his country, the voyagers had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and several other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the most exalted opinions of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.

The Resolution sailed on the 12th of July, the Discovery being to follow her, and on the 18th of October they anchored in Table Bay. In the early part of the following month the Discovery arrived in the bay, having been partially detained by a gale of wind. They then proceeded in company to Christmas Harbour, and having sailed from thence, on January 24th, 1777, discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land. They stood for and anchored in Adventure Bay. Soon after, they were agreeably surprised, at the place where they were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives—eight men and a boy. They approached without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable, for none of them had any weapons. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments, unless we consider

as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea, but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips nor flat noses; on the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes, and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment, and some had their faces also painted with the same composition.

On the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up from the west, the voyagers weighed anchor, and put to sea from Adventure Bay. In the following month they anchored in their old station, Queen Charlotte's Sound. They had not been long at anchor before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships; but very few would venture on board, which appeared the more extraordinary, as Cook was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them, whom he had treated with remarkable kindness during the whole of his stay when last here; yet now, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only on the supposition that the natives were apprehensive they had revisited the country in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Observing Omai, whom they must have remembered to have seen on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened, and whose first conversation when they approached generally turned on that subject, they could not but be well assured that the captain was no longer a stranger to it. He thought it necessary, therefore, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of his friendship, and that he should not disturb them on that account. Amongst the occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoorá, who headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoorá by what they heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved among them. Not satisfied with telling Cook that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned him to kill Kahoorá; and were not a little surprised that he did not listen to them, for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done.

Whilst at this place, curiosity prompted them to inquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of their countrymen, and Omai was made use of as interpreter for this purpose. Pedro, and the rest of the natives present, answered all the questions that were put to them on the subject, without reserve, and like men who are under no dread of punishment for crimes of which they are not guilty. For they already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy transaction. They said, that while the seamen were sitting at dinner, surrounded by several of the natives, some of the latter stole, or snatched from them, some bread and fish, for which they were beaten. This being resented, a quarrel ensued, and two New Zealanders were shot dead by the only two muskets that were fired.



for before the seamen had time to discharge a third, or to load again those that had been fired, the natives rushed in, overpowered them with numbers, and put them all to death. Pedro and his companions, besides relating the history of the massacre, made them acquainted with the very spot that was the scene of it. It is at the corner of the cove, on the right hand. They pointed at the place of the sun, to mark at what hour of the day it appeared at the time; and, according to this, it must have been late in the afternoon. They also showed the place where the boat lay; it was about two hundred yards distant from that where the crew was scated. One of their number, a black servant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her.

For some time before they arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. They had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this, for a youth, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweharoon, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. That Taweharoon might be sent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as a servant, and with this view, remained on board till they were about to sail, when his friends took him on shore. However, his place was supplied, next morning, by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, named Kokoa.

On the 25th of February, at ten o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up, they weighed, stood out of the sound, and made sail through the strait with the Discovery in company. A few days afterwards, their consort made the signal of seeing land, which they soon found to be an island of no great extent, and stood for it till sunset. At this time a small canoe was launched, in a great hurry, from the further end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach them. After some time, another man joined him in the canoe, and they both paddled towards the ship. Still, however, they would not venture on board, but told Omai, who understood them pretty well, that their countrymen on shore had given them this caution, at the same time directing them to inquire from whence the ship came, and to learn the name of the captain. The English inquired the name of the island, which they called Mangya or Mangea; the name of the chief, they said, was Orooneeka. This island, however, could not be visited. It appeared capable of supplying all the wants of the navigators. The natives of this isle seemed to resemble those of Otahete and the Marquesas in the beauty of their persons, more than any other nation on the seas; having a smooth skin, and not being muscular. Their general disposition also corresponds, as far as there were opportunities for judging, with that which distinguishes the first mentioned people.

After leaving Mangea, on the afternoon of the 30th of March, they continued northward all that night, and till noon on the 31st, when they again saw land, distant eight or ten leagues. Next morning, at eight o'clock, they had got within four leagues, and could now pronounce it to be an island, nearly of the same appearance and extent with that so lately left. At the same time, another island, much

smaller, was seen right ahead. It was not long before three canoes came alongside of the Resolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and are supported by outriggers. Some knives, beads, and other trifles, were conveyed to their visitors; and they gave a few cocoa-nuts on being asked for them. Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, approached them. As they drew near the ship, they recited some words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number first standing up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finished their solemn chaun they came alongside and asked for the chief.

At three in the afternoon, Mr. Gore said that he had examined all the west side of the island, without finding a place where a boat could land, or the ship's anchor, the shore being everywhere bounded by a steep coral rock, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf, through which some of them swam from the boats. Scarcely had Omai landed, when he found, amongst the crowd, three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of about two hundred leagues from those islands, an immense unknown ocean intervening, with such wretched sea boats as their inhabitants are known to use, and fit only for passage where sight of land is scarcely ever lost, such a meeting, at such a place, may be well looked upon as one of those unexpected occurrences, with which the writers of feigned adventures love to surprise their readers. It may easily be guessed with what mutual astonishment and satisfaction they engaged in conversation. Their story is an affecting one.

About twenty persons, of both sexes, had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island of Ulietea. A violent contrary wind arising, they could neither reach the latter, nor get back to the former. Their intended passage being a very short one, their stock of provisions was scanty, and soon exhausted. The hardships they suffered, while driven along by the storm, they knew not whither, are not to be conceived. They passed many days without having any thing to eat or drink. Their numbers gradually diminished, worn out by famine and fatigue. Four men only survived, when the canoe overset; and then the loss of this small remnant seemed inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the side of their vessel, during some of the last days, till Providence brought them in sight of the people of this island, who immediately sent out canoes, took them off their wreck, and brought them ashore. Of the four who were thus saved, one was since dead. The other three, who lived to have this opportunity of giving an account of their perils and deliverance, spoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with. And so well satisfied were they with their situation, that they refused the offer made to them by the gentlemen, at Omai's request, of giving them a passage to their native islands. The similarity of manners and language had more than naturalized them, and the fresh connexions that had been formed on this spot, and which it would have been painful to have broken off, after such a length of time, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the places of their birth. They had been upon this island at least twelve years.

The navigators next proceeded to Hervey's Island, and after passing



some other islands they got to Annamooka. While preparations were making for watering, Cook went ashore, accompanied by Captain Clerke and some of his officers, to fix on a place where the observatories might be set, and a guard be stationed; the natives having readily given leave. Toobou, the chief of the island, conducted him and Omai to his house. They found it situated on a pleasant spot, in the centre of his plantation. A fine grass-plot surrounded it, which, Toobou gave them to understand, was for the purpose of cleaning their feet before they went in doors. They had not before observed such an instance of attention to cleanliness at any of the places in this ocean; but afterward found that it was very common at the Friendly Islands. The floor of Toobou's house was covered with mats; and no carpet in the most elegant English drawing-room could be kept neater. While on shore they procured a few hogs and some fruit by bartering; and before they got on board again the ships were crowded with the natives. Few coming empty handed, every necessary refreshment was now in the greatest plenty.

On the 6th of April they were visited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleased to introduce as king of all the Friendly Islands. The officer on shore informed Cook that, when he first arrived, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, and paid their obeisance by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they also touched with each hand, first with the palm and then with the back part. There could be little room to suspect that a person received with so much respect could be anything less than the king.

In the afternoon Cook went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him, brought on board by one of his servants. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall, but thin, and had more of the European features than any yet seen here. When the first salutation was over, Cook asked if he was the king? Taipa officially answered for him, and enumerated no less than 100 islands of which, he said, Feenou was the sovereign. After a short stay, their new visitor, and five or six of his attendants, accompanied the captain on board, who gave suitable presents to all, and entertained them in such a manner as he thought would be most agreeable.

Feenou, understanding that Cook meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned him strongly to alter this plan, to which he expressed as much aversion as if he had some particular interest to promote. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an island, or rather a group of islands, called Hapae, lying to the north-east. There, he assured him, they could be supplied most easily and plentifully with every refreshment; and, to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend them thither in person. At day-break on the 10th they steered north-east, Hapae, now in sight; and they could judge it to be low land, from the trees only appearing above the water. About nine o'clock they could see it plainly, forming three islands, nearly of an equal size; and, soon after, a fourth, to the southward of these, as large as the others. Each seemed to be about six or seven miles long, and of a similar height and appearance.

Having anchored, the chief conducted Captain Cook to a house, or



rather a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, brought thither but a few minutes before for their reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and the captain were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude composed a circle on the outside, fronting them; and they also sat down. Cook was then asked, how long he intended to stay? On his saying, five days, Taipa was ordered to come and sit by him, and to proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them, in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon Cook as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that, during his stay they must not steal anything, nor molest him in any other way; and that it was expected they should bring him hogs, fowls, fruit, and other things, to the ships, where they would receive, in exchange, such and such articles, which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finished this address to the assembly, Feenou left them. Taipa then took occasion to signify, that it was necessary the captain should make a present to the chief of the island, whose name was Earoupa. Cook was not unprepared for this, and gave him such articles as far exceeded his expectation. His liberality brought demands of the same kind from two chiefs of other isles, who were present, and from Taipa himself. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after Cook had made the last of these presents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for suffering him to give away so much; but he looked upon this as mere finesse, being confident that he acted in concert with the others. Cook now took his seat again, and ordered Earoupa to sit by him, and to harangue the people, as Taipa had done, and to the same purpose, dictating, as before, the heads of the speech.

About noon a large sailing canoe came under the stern, in which was a person named Futtafaihe, or Poulaho, or both; who, as the natives then on board said, was king of Tongataboo and of all the neighbouring islands. It was a matter of surprise to have a stranger introduced under this character, which they had so much reason to believe really belonged to another. But the natives persisted in their account of the supreme dignity of this new visitor; and now, for the first time, owned that Feenou was not the king, but only a subordinate chief, though of great power, as he was often sent from Tongataboo to the other islands on warlike expeditions, or to decide differences. It being the interest, as well as the inclination of the voyagers to pay court to all the great men, without making inquiry into the validity of their assumed titles, they invited Poulaho on board. He could not be an unwelcome guest, for he brought with him, as a present, two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself. If weight of body could give rank or power, he was certainly the most eminent man, in that respect, they had seen; for, though not very tall, he was very unwieldy and almost shapeless with corpulence. He seemed to be about forty years of age, had straight hair, and his features differed a good deal from those of the bulk of his people. They found him to be a sedate, sensible man. He viewed the ship, and the several new objects, with uncommon attention, and asked many pertinent questions; one of which was, what could induce them to visit these islands? After he had satisfied his curiosity in looking

at the cattle, and other novelties which he met with upon deck, the captain desired him to walk down into the cabin. To this some of his attendants objected, saying that if he were to accept of that invitation it might happen that people would walk over his head, which could not be permitted. Cook directed Omai to tell them that he would obviate their objection, by giving orders that no one should presume to walk upon that part of the deck which was over the cabin. Whether this expedient would have satisfied them was far from appearing; but the chief himself, less scrupulous in this respect than his attendants, waived all ceremony, and walked down without any stipulation.

Poulaho sat down to dinner, but ate little, and drank less. When they rose from the table he desired Cook to accompany him ashore. Omai was asked to be of the party, but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou to show any attention to his competitor; and, therefore, excused himself. The captain attended the chief in his own boat, having first made presents to him of such articles as he could observe he valued much, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. He was not disappointed in the view of thus securing his friendship; for the moment the boat reached the beach, and, before he quitted her, he ordered two more hogs to be brought and delivered to the people, to be conveyed on board.

On the 4th, at seven in the morning, they weighed; and, with a fresh gale, stood away for Annamooka, where they anchored next morning, nearly in the same station they had so lately occupied. About noon, next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told them that several canoes laden with hogs and other provisions, which had sailed with him from that island, had been lost, owing to the late blowing weather; that everybody on board had perished. This melancholy tale did not seem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and they were, by this time, too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story. The following morning Poulaho, and the other chiefs who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. The captain happened at this time to be ashore, in company with Feenou, who seemed sensible of the impropriety of his conduct in assuming a character that did not belong to him; for he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be king of Tongataboo and the other isles, but affected to insist much on it, with a view to make amends for his former presumption.

Next morning they weighed and steered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze from the north-east. About fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels, belonging to the natives, set out with them; but every one of them outran the ships considerably. Soon after they had anchored Cook landed, accompanied by some of his officers and Omai. They found the king waiting upon the beach. He immediately conducted them to a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the wood, with a fine large area before it. This house, he told Cook, was at his service during his stay at the island, and for a better situation he could not wish.

Towards noon Poulaho brought with him his son, a youth about five years of age. Cook had his company at dinner; but the son,



though present, was not allowed to sit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for a guest; for when he was present, which became generally the case, every other native was excluded from the table, and but few of them would remain in the cabin. In the course of time the voyagers acquired some certain information about the relative situations of the several great men living here.

Early the next morning the king came on board to invite Cook to an entertainment which he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barber's hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment, in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfast Cook attended him to the shore, and found his people very busy in two places in the front of their area, fixing in an upright square position four very long posts, about two feet from each other. The space between the posts was afterwards filled up with yams; and as they went on filling it, fastened pieces of stick across from post to post, at the distance of about every four feet, to climb up by, and also to prevent the posts from separating by the weight of the enclosed yams. When the yams had reached the top of the first posts they fastened others to them, and so continued till each pile was about the height of thirty feet. On the top of one they placed two baked hogs, and on the top of the other a living one; another they tied by the legs half way up. It was matter of curiosity to observe with what facility and despatch these two piles were raised. After they had completed them, they made several other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each side of the area, to which were added a turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this, with a piece of cloth, a mat, and some red feathers, was the king's present to the captain; and he seemed to pique himself on exceeding, as he really did, Feenou's liberality, which they experienced at Ilapae. Accompanied by a few of the king's attendants, and Omai as interpreter, they walked out to take a view of a fiatooka, or burying-place, which they had observed to be almost close by the house, and was seemingly much more extensive and of more consequence than any they had seen at the other islands. They were told it belonged to the king.

They soon afterwards left this place, touched at Middleburgh, and having obtained much information with regard to the neighbouring islands, they directed their course to Otahete. Having arrived here, a chief, whom they had known before, named Ootee, and Omai's brother-in-law, who chanced to be now at this part of the island, and three or four more persons, all of whom knew Omai before he embarked with Captain Furneaux, came on board. Yet there was nothing tender or striking in their meeting. On the contrary, there seemed to be a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omai, having taken his brother down into the cabin, opened the drawer where he kept his red feathers, and gave him a few. This being presently known amongst the rest of the natives upon deck, the face of affairs was entirely turned, and Ootee, who would hardly speak to Omai before, now begged that they might be tayos—that is, friends—and exchange names. Omai accepted of this honour, and confirmed it with a present of red feathers; and Ootee, by way of return, sent ashore for a hog. Soon after they had anchored, Omai's sister came



on board to see him. They were happy to observe, much to the honour of both, their meeting was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than described.

On the 2nd of September, the ships being at Eimeo, Maheine, the chief of the island, paid them a visit. He approached the ship with great caution, and it required some persuasion to get him on board. Probably he was under some apprehension of mischief from them, as friends of the Otaheiteans, these people not being able to understand how they can be friends with any one, without adopting, at the same time, his cause against his enemies. Maheine was accompanied by his wife, who is sister to Oamo, of Otaheite. This chief who, with a few followers, had made himself in a manner independent of Otaheite, was between forty and fifty years old. He was bald-headed, which is rather an uncommon appearance in these islands at that age. He wore a kind of turban, and seemed ashamed to show his head.

Having left Eimeo, with a gentle breeze and fine weather, at day-break, the navigators next morning saw Huaheine. At noon they anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, on the west side of the island. Their arrival brought all the principal people to the ships the following morning. This was just what they wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs would enable Cook to do it in the most satisfactory manner. One of them immediately expressed himself to this effect—"That the whole island of Huaheine, and everything in it, were the captain's; and that, therefore, he might give what portion of it he pleased to his friend." Omai, who, like the rest of his countrymen, seldom sees things beyond the present moment, was greatly pleased to hear this, thinking, no doubt, that he should be very liberal, and give him enough. Upon this, some chiefs who had left the assembly were recalled, and, after a short consultation among themselves, the request was granted by general consent, and the ground immediately pitched upon, adjoining to the house where the meeting was held. The extent along the shore of the harbour was about two hundred yards, and its depth to the foot of the hill somewhat more; but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant. As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation, Cook began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore, except the horse and mare, and a goat with kid, which were left in possession of his friend, with whom they were now finally to part. He also gave him a boar and two sows of the English breed, and he had got a sow or two of his own. He had picked at Otaheite four or five of the lower class of people as servants. The two New Zealand youths also remained with him; and his brother and some others joined him at Huaheine. His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box, a fowling-piece, two pair of pistols, and two or three swords or cutlasses.

On the 2nd of November, at four in the afternoon, they took advantage of a breeze which then sprung up at east, and sailed out of the harbour. Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution. He came to the captain, then his utmost efforts to conceal his

tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, said that he wept all the time in going ashore.

After having visited Bolabola on the 18th of January, an island made its appearance, and soon after they saw more land entirely detached from it. At this time they were in some doubt whether the land was inhabited, but they soon saw some canoes coming off from the shore toward the ships. They had from three to six men each; and, on their approach they were agreeably surprised to find that they spoke the language of Otaheite, and of the other islands lately visited. Cook, in the course of his voyages, never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these were upon entering a ship. Their eyes were continually flying from one object to another, the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, showing clearly that till now they had never been visited by Europeans. They are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions, neither remarkable for a beautiful shape nor for striking features, and their expression was rather of openness and good nature than of a keen, intelligent disposition. They are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers, leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion, diving under them, and swimming to others, though at a great distance. It was very common to see women with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in their canoes, leap overboard, and, without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore through a sea that looked dreadful.

They now stood away to the northward, and on the 20th of March again saw land. Between two points, the shore forms a large bay, which they called Hope Bay, expecting, from the appearance of the land, to find it a good harbour. The event proved they were not mistaken. Three canoes came off to the ship; in one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting them to land by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards them, and some of his companions threw handfuls of a red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ships, and a trade commenced, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles they offered for sale were skins of animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, pole-cats, martins, and, in particular, of the sea-otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears, fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre, pieces of carved work, beads, and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at



their noses; and several chisels, or pieces of iron, fixed to handles. From their possessing these metals, they had either been visited before by some civilized nation, or had connexion with tribes on their continent, who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles brought to the ships for sale, were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made their visitors plainly understand they had eaten; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks of having been in the fire. They had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here as at New Zealand, and other South Sea Islands. For the various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. On their arrival in this inlet, Cook had given it the name of King George's Sound; but afterward found that it was called Nootka by the natives.

Having examined a neighbouring sound, they steered to the north-east, on which coast the land was woody, and there seemed to be no deficiency of harbours. They discovered low land in the middle of an inlet, and as it continued calm all day, they did not move till eight o'clock in the evening, when they weighed and stood to the north, up the inlet. Until they got thus far, the water had retained the same degree of saltness at low as at high water, and, at both periods, was as salt as that of the ocean. But now there were appearances of a river: the water taken up this obb, when at the lowest, was found to be very considerably fresher than any hitherto tasted; insonmuch that Cook was convinced they were in a large river, and not in a strait, communicating with the northern seas. By means of this river, and its several branches, a very extensive inland communication lies open. They traced it as high as the latitude of 61 deg. 30 min., and the longitude of 210 deg., which is seventy leagues or more from its entrance, without seeing the least appearance of its source. Captain Cook having here left a blank, which he had not filled up with any particular name, Lord Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River.

On the 13th of August the wind blew a strong gale, which abated at noon; and the sun shining out, they were, by observation, in the latitude of 68 deg. 18 min. Some time before noon next day they perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink. It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable they should meet with ice so soon. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice left them no longer in doubt. At half-past two, they tacked close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, being then in the latitude of 70 deg. 41 min., not being able to stand any farther. They now stood to the southward. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, they saw land about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice, for which reason it obtained the name of Ice Cape. Having now fully satisfied himself, Cook thought it high time to think of leaving these northern regions, and to retire to some place during the winter.



where he might procure refreshments for his people, and a small supply of provisions; and he accordingly steered to the Sandwich Islands.

On the 16th of December, seeing the appearance of a bay, Captain Cook sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon they anchored in the bay, called by the natives Karakakooa. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. They had nowhere, in the course of their voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For, besides those who had come off in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. They could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented their having failed to find a northern passage homeward the previous summer.

As soon as the inhabitants perceived their intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships, were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round in shoals, many of whom, not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water. Among the chiefs who came on board the Resolution was a young man, called Pareca, whom they soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him that he was Jakaneo to the king of the island, who was at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to his interests, and he became exceedingly useful in the management of his countrymen. Kaneena, another of their chiefs, likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. Both these were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Their two friends, Pareca and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who was a priest, and had been in his youth a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the drink called ava. Being led into the cabin, he approached Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him.

During the rest of the time they remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook went on shore he was attended by one of the priests, who preceded him, giving notice that the Orono had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes; on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever Cook stopped at the observatory, Kaireেকে and his brethren

diately made their appearance, with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c., and presented them with the usual ceremonies. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the Orono. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances; whilst Kaireekkea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

On the 26th, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village, and paddled towards the ships in great state. Their appearance was very imposing. In the first canoe was Tercooboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second, came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker work, and curiously covered, with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner as their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs, and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sang their hymns with great solemnity; and, after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made towards the shore at the beach where the Englishmen were stationed.

Early on the 4th of February the navigators unmoored, and sailed out of the bay, with the *Discovery* in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. On the 8th, at daybreak, they found that the foremast had again given way, the fishes, which were put on the head, in Nootka Sound, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unstep the mast. They stood off and on till daylight of the 9th, and dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

Upon doing so, they were surprised to find their reception very different from what it had been on their first arrival—no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The *Discovery's* cutter was stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored. It had been Cook's usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal Erees, or chiefs, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect. They found the old king just awoke from sleep, and after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited the king to return in the boat and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him. The two boys were already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party near the waterside, when an elderly woman, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and with many



tears and entreaties besought him not to go on board. At the same time two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no further, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns and the appearance of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. He, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was vain to think any longer of getting the king off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes attempting to get out, had unfortunately killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where the captain was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous, the women and children were immediately sent off, and the men put on their war-mats and armed themselves with spears and stones. Several stones were thrown at the marines, and one of the Brees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. A scene of the utmost horror and confusion now followed.

Four of the marines were cut off among the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded, and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having reserved his fire shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat the blow. The unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. If it is true that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity on this occasion proved fatal to him; for it was remarked that, whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that, having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout. His body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction. Thus fell this great and excellent commander, after a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation under their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible to describe; much less to paint the horror with which they were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.



The 21st, Eappo and the king's son came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook, the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince them that Terreepboo, Maihamaiha, and himself were most heartily desirous of peace; that they had shown the most convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom, he said, were amongst their best friends. The cutter was taken away by Paicea's people, and it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, he assured them, had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable, the bones of the chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreepboo and the Erees. Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to their great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay, and in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, they were committed to the deep with the usual honours.

Captain Clerke having obtained all necessary naval stores from a northern Russian station, they set sail for England. On the 12th of June, passed the equator for the fourth time during this voyage, and on the 1st of October they arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

It may be interesting to our readers to learn that the *Discovery*, which was so well commanded by Captain Clerke in Cook's third voyage, is still to be seen as a hulk, lying in the Thames off Deptford.

It has recently been stated, in the *Brighton Herald* (April, 1850), that there is at present residing in Southampton an old man, named Wade, the last survivor of Captain Cook's companions on his voyage round the world. He is ninety-nine years of age, and is in possession of all his faculties. He was present at Captain Cook's death, and himself received a spear-wound from one of the islanders.

## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF WILLOUGHBY, CHANCELLOR, BARENTZ, DAVIS, AND HUDSON.

So far back as the days of Edward VI. there was formed the general plan of a voyage, the object of which was to reach the far-famed regions of India and Cathay, by way of the north and north-east. There could be no just estimate, at that time, of the difficulties attendant on such an enterprise, the vast breadth of Asia, its extension towards the north, and the huge masses of ice besetting its shores, being almost, if not entirely, unknown. The enthusiasm then kindled dwelt chiefly, however, on what was favourable in prospect, and especially on the results of ultimate success.

An association was formed for this northern navigation, in shares of twenty-five pounds, thus accumulating a fund of £6,000, which was appropriated to the building and equipment of vessels adapted to the purpose, and that with remarkable zeal. The most skilful ship-

wrights were engaged, timbers of extraordinary strength were used, for the first time the keel was covered with thin sheets of lead, and there were provisions for eighteen months. A series of instructions were prepared by Sebastian Cabot, then grand pilot of England, minutely describing the conduct required of the officers and crew, as he was prevented, it is supposed from age, from accompanying the expedition.

At a time when subordination, on the part of the crews of vessels, was but slightly regarded, and when there were many temptations to violate it, the grand pilot expressly forbade "conspiracies, part-takings, factions, false tales, which be the very seeds and fruits of contention." Persons skilled in writing were daily to record the course taken, the observations of the heavenly bodies, the appearances of the land by which they passed, and all matters of special interest. Morning and evening prayers were to be read on board each ship by the chaplain or master; and it was ordered that there should be no "ribaldry or ungodly talk; dicing, carding, tabling, or other devilish games." The people of the countries which were visited were "to be considered advisedly, and treated with gentleness and courtesy, without any disdain, laughing, or contempt. Fair means were to be employed to induce some one to come on board, and, to attract others, he was to be well clothed and treated; to which order an intimation is added which we cannot but reprobate:—"If he be made drunk by your wine or beer you shall know the secrets of his heart." To these directions were appended various others on which it is unnecessary now to dwell.

The chief officer of this expedition was Sir Hugh Willoughby, and the charge of the next vessel was consigned to Richard Chancellor, who was patronised by Henry Sidney, father of the celebrated Sir Philip: then high in favour with the king, and greatly concerned for the success of the voyage. A royal letter was now addressed to "all kings, princes, rulers, judges, and governors of the earth," declaring that "the great and Almighty God hath given unto mankind, above all other living creatures, such a heart and desire, that every man desireth to join friendship with others, to love and to be loved; also to give and to receive mutual benefits." The duty is then represented of showing kindness to strangers, particularly "merchants, who wander about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things as are found in their countries to remote regions and kingdoms." In these circumstances, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and other trusty and faithful servants, are then described as departing from England, and then follows the appeal:—"We therefore desire you, kings and princes, and all others, to whom there is any power on earth, to permit unto these our servants, free passage by your regions and dominions, for they shall not touch anything of yours, unwilling to you." On such kindness being shown, the letter thus concludes:—"We promise by the God of all things that are contained in heaven, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillity of our kingdoms, that we will with like humanity, accept your servants, if at any time they shall come in our kingdoms." On the 10th of May, 1553, the expedition was ready to sail. Early



in the morning they dropped down to Greenwich, where, at that time, was the court. The youthful monarch was prevented by illness from gazing on the spectacle; but the chief courtiers were at the windows of the palace; the rest of the household occupied the houses, while crowds of people lined the shore. The ships fired their guns, and the welkin rang with the shouts of the mariners, while great was the exultation of all around. On proceeding to the Essex coast, and then to Gravesend, the three vessels were detained for a few days, by contrary winds; but a propitious gale springing up, they directed their course into the expanse of the German Sea. As their native land was now retiring gradually from view, it was natural that some tears should fall, and that proceeding in a course previously untried, the thought should arise in some minds, that they were taking a last view of the country of their birth.

On the 14th of July, Sir Hugh found himself involved in that labyrinth of isles which stud the coast of Norway, between the 66th and 68th degrees of latitude. Afterwards the ships came to the greater range of the Loffoden isles. At the large island of Seynam, to which they now proceeded, they endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to obtain a pilot. Approaching the North Cape, and seeing before them the Arctic Ocean stretching towards the pole, and seeming to be filled with snows and tempests, Sir Hugh assembled the commanders, and exhorted them to keep close together, but appointing their rendezvous at Wardhuys, supposed to be the principal port of Finmark, should they be separated.

But, before they could enter a harbour, there arose such terrible whirlwinds, that they were compelled to stand out to sea, and commit their vessels to the mercy of the waves. Amidst the darkness of the next stormy night, the two principal vessels separated, never more to meet. Willoughby's pinnace was dashed to pieces in the tempest, and, in the dawning of the morning light, he could see neither of his companions. At length discovering the smaller vessel, called the Confidence, he pursued his voyage.

He now sailed nearly two hundred miles north-east and by north, but was bewildered in discovering no appearance of a shore. Misled by the defective maps of the time, instead of approaching the borders of Norway, he was plunging into the vast abysses of the Northern Ocean. Discovering their serious error by soundings, which showed a depth of 160 fathoms, the mariners shifted their course, but all was doubt and uncertainty. At length the land was seen—the coast of Nova Zembla—but there was no point at which they could land. Becoming aware that they ought to proceed in an opposite direction, they turned about, and, for some days, saw the coast of Russian Lapland. Had they now entered the White Sea, all had been safe and joyous, but proceeding westward, hoping, perhaps, to reach Wardhuys, they entered a harbour only to experience the intense rigours of the north. Here they proposed to take up their quarters till the ensuing spring, but there was a catastrophe which remains untold, for no one of that brave expedition ever returned to his native land. It is said some Russian sailors saw, with surprise, two large ships, entered them, and found their crews lifeless. A note, written in January,



showed that they were then alive. To them the poet alludes when he says :—

————— Miserable they,  
Who, here engag'd in the gathering ice,  
Take their last look of the descending sun;  
While full of death, and flur'd with ten-fold frost,  
The long, long night, incumbent o'er their heads,  
Falls horrible. Such was the Briton's fate,  
As with *first* prow (what have not Britons dared ?)  
He for the passage sought, attempted since  
So much in vain." ———

The fate of Chancellor was different. Reaching Wardhuys without difficulty, he waited for Willoughby seven days, and then again set sail. He now proceeded so far as to come at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun, shining clearly upon the great and mighty sea. Thus they were guided to the White Sea, which was, as yet, unknown to Western Europe. Espying a little fishing-boat, the crew of which were so astonished at the sight of a ship, that they fled, Chancellor and his party followed them, when they fell flat on the ground, and cried aloud for mercy. These strange visitors showed them the utmost kindness, and on their departure they rumoured the arrival of a people "of singular gentleness and courtesy." The natives now flocked in crowds to the vessel, and abundantly supplied the wants of the mariners.

They now found, on inquiry, that they were at the extremities of a vast country, then slightly known in Britain by the title of Russia, or Muscovy, and which was under the absolute rule of its sovereign. Moscow, the seat of the court, was at a great distance, and could only be reached by sledges; but Chancellor sought, and gained permission to visit the potentate Ivan Vasilovitch. He was received very satisfactorily, and returned with a letter from the sovereign, expressing a cordial desire to open an intercourse with England, and to grant to its merchants every privilege necessary for carrying on their traffic in his kingdom. These traders now assumed the title of the Muscovy Company, and the same officer was again sent out by Philip and Mary, who occupied the throne.

The original object of finding an eastern passage was not lost sight of; the captain being instructed to make every possible inquiry about it. But so great was the spirit of discovery, that before he returned, the Searchthrift, a small vessel, was fitted out, and committed to Stephen Burroughs, who was master, on the first voyage, of Chancellor's vessel. The enthusiasm discovered in reference to the former expedition was now revived; Sebastian Cabot went down with a large party to Gravesend, and after partaking of the cheer the ship afforded, gave a banquet on shore to Burroughs and his companions.

Various delays arose before they arrived at the islands and straits of Waygatz, between Nova Zembla and the Continent. They soon saw what they supposed to be land, but it proved to be a vast heap of ice, by which they became entangled, and for some hours could scarcely avoid one mass without striking on another. Among the islands of Waygatz they discovered a Russian sail, the master of which, pretending to be in great haste, appeared anxious to avoid

them; but his favour was conciliated, as that of others has been, and still is, by a few gifts, and he afforded them much information. He stated that they were on the coast of the wild Samoides, who yielded no subjection to the Czar, and were even said to eat the Russians. As Bunnings discovered, by his soundings, that he was advancing towards Nova Zembla, he was determined, by various causes, not to proceed further in his enterprise. The Muscovy Company, however, entertained the project of opening a communication with Persia and India across the Caspian, and by ascending the Oxus to Bokhara; and they prosecuted it by the efforts of several bold adventurers, who penetrated deeply into the interior of Asia. But it was soon found that such a passage for goods, by sea and land, was too costly, and that the products of Europe and of India might be exchanged at a much cheaper rate.

Other projects were now entertained, and Pet and Jackman were provided with two vessels in 1580. On approaching Nova Zembla, they were inclosed in a bay of ice, and had much trouble in effecting their escape. They afterwards saw Waygatz, which they had left some time before, and endeavoured to steer along its southern coast, but the water was so shallow that they were compelled to take the opposite direction; and in doing so, arrived at a fair low island, where they discovered a passage between the ice and the shore, but at length it closed, and they could proceed no further. The ships were now also separated by large fields of ice, and their only communication, till they could rejoin each other, was by beating drums and firing muskets. The state of the ice was so unfavourable that the captains determined to return to Waygatz, and to seek a more open passage. In doing so they were involved in great perils, and on arriving at Waygatz, and finding it impracticable to penetrate again to the eastward, they endeavoured only to repass the North Cape.

The United Provinces having become, after many sufferings and great struggles, an independent republic, looked towards the east; but having no fleet which could successfully contend with the armadas of Spain in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, found that the north alone was open to them, and therefore, in this direction, determined to seek for those springs of wealth from which the opulence of other countries was derived. Three vessels, with a small yacht, were equipped by a private body of merchants, with the permission of the States, and their high admiral; the expedition being placed under the charge of Barentz, a nautical man of no ordinary ability.

The squadron sailed from the Texel on the 5th of June, 1594, and on approaching Nova Zembla it was formed into two divisions—one purposing to advance by the Straits of Waygatz, and the other, under Barentz, endeavouring to pass round to the northward of Nova Zembla, which opposed, like a formidable barrier, his advance towards the east. In their course they saw large herds of the walrus, which so strongly resembles our domestic quadrupeds, that to it has been given the name of the sea-horse, or sea-cow. On one occasion they came on two or three hundred of these animals lying in heaps on the sand, and basking in the sun, when the sailors, erroneously supposing that they are helpless on shore, advanced against them, assured of

victory; but, to their surprise and dismay, they were beaten off by the walruses with dishonour. An encounter they had with a bear may also be mentioned. Observing one on shore, they discharged at him several balls, but no mortal wound was inflicted. Throwing a rope round his neck, they thought they had secured him as a trophy; but, in the midst of their terror at his violent struggles, it reached its height, when the bear fastened his paws on the stern, and entered the boat. All now instantly clung to the poop with no thought but that of death, when, providentially, the noose became entangled with the iron work of the rudder, the bear was unable to escape, and they at length summoned sufficient courage to despatch him with their spears.

Barentz reached the northern extremity of Nova Zembla; but, from the state of the ice, he and his crew despaired of proceeding further, and determined to return. The two other vessels meanwhile pushed on along the coast, but made their way, with some difficulty, through the Straits of Waygatz, and sailed some distance along the coast of Nova Zembla. "Arriving at a wide, blue, open sea, with the coast stretching rapidly southward, they imagined it was the eastern boundary of Asia, and would afford an easy passage to China. They now hastened with the joyful tidings to their countrymen, met the other division on the coast of Russian Lapland, and arrived together in the Texel. A second expedition was fitted out, only to meet with signal failure. In a third expedition Barentz discovered Spitzbergen, but soon after died. At length divers merchants gave up the hope of gold, which had so long proved delusive, and became simply intent on discovering a passage to India.

Meanwhile, John Davis, an able and determined seaman, was entrusted with two vessels, the *Sunshine* and the *Moonshine*. His temper was one that was likely to gratify the people with whom he met, and he was supplied not only with those gifts which were sure to be acceptable, but with a band of music, which was likely to be truly exhilarating. He set sail from Dartmouth on the 7th of June, 1585.

About a month after, as he approached the Arctic boundary, and the sea was calm, though covered with a thick mist, the crew heard loud roarings of the ocean, when the captain and master pushed off in the boat, as they thought from the dashing of the waves that a beach was near. To their great surprise they were involved amid numerous icebergs, the rolling and beating of which against each other had caused the noise they had heard. Landing on several of these icebergs, Davis broke off pieces, which were converted into good water on being carried to the ship. The next day a coast came into view, "deformed, rocky, and mountainous, like a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight," say the adventurers, "above the clouds. It towered through the fog like a white list in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow, the shore beset with ice, making such irksome noise that it was called the Land of Desolation." The object they now beheld was the south-western coast of Greenland, appearing most dreary and desolate.

Unable to near the shore in consequence of the ice, Davis pushed



out northward into the open sea, and some days after came in sight of land, which was still a part of Greenland; and, as the wind was unfavourable for his intended course, he resolved to land, the ice presenting no obstacle to his doing so. He left the vessel with two companions, directing the rest to follow on a signal being given, and mounting a rock they were soon espied by the natives, who instantly raised violent and lamentable outcries. Davis and his party now gave a loud sound, as a signal to the crew, and the master and others at once advanced with the music playing, and all the signs of friendship they could offer. Ten canoes now hastened from the other islands, and the natives, uttering strange sounds, crowded around their visitors. The Esquimaux, however, were not without fear, but at length, on presents being made them, such as caps, stockings, and gloves, they were relieved from apprehension.

On the following day there were thirty-seven canoes, the natives in which invited the strangers on shore; and no sooner did Davis and his men accede to their request, than they were received with marks of confidence and affection. The Esquimaux accepted whatever was offered them; but, as if their best returns were inadequate, gave the English their seal-skin and bird-skin clothes, their leather buskins, their darts, oars, and five canoes. As they saw the furs and skins were highly valued, they promised a more ample supply on the following day; but, as the wind became favourable, Davis resolved on pursuing his course.

After coasting about for some days, during which he discovered high land, which he named Mount Raleigh, being part of Cumberland Island, he again found himself at the cape which he had at first reached on crossing from the opposite shore of Greenland. To this he gave the name of God's Mercy; and, on turning it, entered a sound of considerable extent, and free from ice, its waters having the appearance of the ocean. On an island in it the crew heard the howling of dogs, and at length saw twenty of them approach, strongly resembling wolves. Thinking that only animals of prey could be found here, they fired and killed two, but found a collar round one of their necks, and afterwards the sledge to which they had been yoked. Davis proceeded with hope for some time, but thick fogs gathering, and contrary winds arising, he resolved to suspend his enterprise and return to England.

So much hope was excited by a voyage during which nothing was actually done, that to the vessels which had been employed the *Mermaid* was added, carrying 120 tons, with a boat and a pinnace. Again Davis sailed from Dartmouth. It was not long before the southern extremity of Greenland came into view; but severe storms delayed his reaching the land formerly visited. The natives, as he approached, came out at first with shouts and cries; but, recognising their former visitors, they offered every expression of joy and welcome. Davis, anxious to improve such favourable circumstances, went on shore, and made presents of twenty knives, declining all offers of skins in exchange.

An intimate intercourse was now resumed, and contests in bodily exercises amused both parties. In leaping, the visitors surpassed the

Esquimaux; but, in wrestling, the former were sometimes overthrown. Other qualities soon appeared. The Esquimaux kindled a fire, by rubbing one stick against another, and invited Davis to pass through it; but he poured contempt on what he deemed their sorcery, by causing the fire to be trodden out, and the embers to be cast into the sea. They also pilfered any article they could seize, particularly iron; nor was it long before they stole a spear, a gun, and a sword, actually cut the cables, and even the Moonshine's boat from her stern. Davis remonstrated with them, by his officers, in reference to such conduct; fired two pieces over their heads, at which they were greatly frightened, and fled precipitately; but, soon after, they came again with many presents and promises, yet when iron was seen it was stolen, as before. The crew again complained, but Davis only smiled; charged them to keep safely their own goods, and not to deal hardly with the natives, who could not be supposed to have their sense of right.

Davis, anxious to examine the interior, sailed up what seemed to be a broad river, but was only a creek. Compelled to seek the shelter of land by a violent gust of wind, he attempted to climb a very lofty peak, but did not succeed. He was amused by viewing, for the first time in his life, a water-spout, which he describes as a mighty whirlwind, taking up the water and whisking it round for three hours without intermission. He re-embarked the following day, and proceeded further up the channel; but found only, to his surprise, waste and desert isles, with sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea.

Serious tidings awaited him on his return; the Esquimaux had stolen an anchor, cut the cable, and even thrown large and heavy stones against the Moonshine; and he was asked if he would still bear such audacity. Suspecting that the conduct of his own people had not been the most gentle, Davis told them to have patience, and no doubt all would issue well. Inviting a party of the natives on board, he taught them to run to the topmast, made them various trifling presents, and sent them away evidently much pleased. But, when evening came, they again threw stones into the Moonshine; and, as one knocked down the boatswain, he, greatly enraged, sent two boats to chase the offenders, but they soon defied pursuit. Five of them appeared two days after, on which the master declared that one of the party was the ring-leader; he was immediately captured and borne away, as a favourable wind arose. On being well treated, however, he became a pleasant companion, and sometimes assisted the sailors.

It was not long before the navigators descried, as they imagined, a land of hills, bays, and capes, but which proved to be only a huge mass of ice, which often, for a great part of the season, fills the middle of Baffin's Bay. The ropes, shrouds, and sails, became fast frozen, the seamen were filled with dismay, and firmly, but respectfully, urged Davis not to continue his enterprise. He now determined to leave behind him the Mermaid, and with the boldest part of his crew, to proceed with the Moonshine. Favoured by the wind, he reached land in latitude 66 deg. 33 min., and then coasted southwards for about ten degrees, entangled among a number of islands, and missing the inlets by which he might have entered into Hudson's Bay. On

reaching Labrador, five men who landed were beset by the natives, and all except one killed or wounded. A violent tempest now arose, and as September was nigh, Davis resolved to return to England.

The feeling excited on the return from the last voyage was not revived on the arrival of Davis at the present time. Before, assistance was readily proffered, but now he had to present inducements to the affording assistance. Engaging that discovery should involve no additional expense, stating that the cost of the outfit might be defrayed by fishing, and aided by the exertions of a zealous friend, the *Sunshine*, the *Elizabeth*, and a pinnace, were got ready for a third voyage. On arriving at the coast previously visited, the natives again appeared, offering their skins, but pillaging with every opportunity. While a boat was being put together with materials brought from England, they carried off the deals, and when fired at, placed their spoil before their bodies.

It was now determined that the two large vessels should remain to fish, while Davis in the pinnace went in pursuit of discovery. Ranging the coast to the northward, he reached a point ~~an~~ upwards of 72 degrees, which he called Sanderson's Hope; but still finding a wide open sea to the west and north, he proceeded across it forty leagues, without sight of land, when he was arrested by the usual barriers of ice. He first endeavoured to round it by the north, but finding no passage, turned to the south, beating about unsuccessfully for several days. Trying an apparent opening, he became involved in a bay of ice, from which he was not extricated without much difficulty and danger.

Not long after, Mount Raleigh came into view, and he soon found himself at the mouth of an inlet discovered in his first voyage. On the morrow he sailed across its entrance, and ascended its northern shore, until he was again beset by numerous islands, and for some time could not effect a retreat. Passing Probisher's Strait, he crossed the mouth of an extensive gulf, evidently the grand entrance afterwards penetrated by Hudson. Reduced to a very small quantity of water, he hastened to join the other vessels; but, to his extreme disappointment, they were gone. With some hesitation he set sail for England, but it appeared his only course; and, without any disaster, he arrived at home.

The hopes of Davis were now more sanguine than they had ever before been. He had attained a much higher latitude than any former navigator had reached, and he considered that a spirited enterprise could scarcely fail; but to his wishes there was no response. A severe blow to such expeditions was the death of Secretary Walsingham; and the Spanish Armada soon entirely occupied the minds of the people. Davis still retained the warm friendship of Mr. Sanderson, who had so greatly assisted him in his second expedition; but he could not raise the means that were required, and all he could do was to employ the best artist of his time, named Molyneux, to construct a globe comprising all the navigator's discoveries, which is still preserved in the Library of the Middle Temple.

Henry Hudson was despatched by the Muscovy Company in 1607 to penetrate, if possible, directly across the pole. Passing the latitude



of Iceland, he took a direction westward, being concerned to survey the northern boundaries of Greenland, supposing there might be an open sea in that direction. The ships were soon involved in thick fog, their shrouds and sails being frozen, but, on its clearing away, they beheld a high and bold headland, behind which rose an eminence, which was called the Mount of God's Mercy. Steering eastwards to clear this coast, and after being again enveloped in mists, they again saw land, high and bold, but free from snow, even on the loftiest mountains. They gave the name to this cape of Hold-with-Hope.

Taking a north-eastward direction, Hudson faintly perceived the coast of Spitzbergen. Passing the 79th degree of latitude, the weather was piercingly cold, and the shrouds and sails often frozen. The ice obliged him to steer in various directions. The sea, in the latitudes of 81 and 82 degrees, he considered to be so completely blockaded with ice as certainly to defeat all attempts in this direction at a passage to the pole, but he thought it might be frequented with great advantage, from the immense multitude of seals with which it abounds. Coasting along Spitzbergen, some parts of which appeared very agreeable, he returned, and soon arrived in the Thames.

Having thus obtained some distinction, Hudson was engaged by the London merchants in 1608. He dropped down to Blackwall on the 22nd of April, and in the early part of June saw the North Cape, bearing south-west. Advancing to the north and east till he gained the latitude of 75 deg., he became entangled in the ice, but extricated himself with but little difficulty. Proceeding in his course, he arrived at the coast of Nova Zembla, and, concluding it were useless to continue this year in a more northerly direction, he resolved to try the old route of the Waygatz, but was diverted from doing so by a large sound, which seemed to afford an equally favourable opening. Numerous herds of sea-horses were on its shores, which he hoped to capture, and with them to defray the costs of his voyage. Nova Zembla, he says, is "to man's eye a pleasant land, much mayne land, with no snow on it, looking in some places green, and deer feeding thereon." But the sound terminated in a large river, and the boats soon came to anchorage. No capture of sea-horses could be effected; and, as great masses of ice came from the south, involving him in peril from which he was mercifully delivered, while no hope appeared of a north-east passage, he hastened homewards.

How the Muscovy merchants regarded his voyage does not appear; but in 1609 he again set sail, under the patronage of the Dutch East India Company. They had hopes of a northern passage being found; but Hudson appears to have been intent on north-western discovery, and to have steered across the Atlantic to America. He discovered the important bay which receives the river, called, after him, the Hudson, and on which New York was afterwards built, and subsequently returned home.

Some persons of distinction fitted out a vessel, provisioned for six months, which was committed to the charge of Hudson, and he once more left the Thames on the 17th of April, 1610. In a few weeks he observed the eastern part of Iceland, and was obliged to come to

anchor in a thick fog; but as soon as the weather cleared, he proceeded westward along the coast, till he reached Snow Hill hovering aloft. Leaving this coast, and sailing westward, the white cliffs of Greenland soon came into view. Steering towards the south-west, turning Cape Farewell, and "raising the Desolations," the mariners soon beheld with dismay the vast islands of ice. But they advanced onwards, sometimes enjoying a clear and open sea, and at others placed in imminent peril by icebergs. On the 25th of June, land appeared to the north, was again lost sight of, and afterwards discovered to the south, so that they found themselves at the entrance of the channel, which has since been called Hudson's Strait.

In consequence of the prevalence of ice in various forms, and especially in thick fogs, they had to fasten their vessel to the firmest of the masses, and landing upon them from time to time, collected the water melted in the hollows, which was found to be sweet and good. Many of the sailors now fell sick, there is reason to think chiefly from fear. Observing that they were depressed, Hudson called them together, and showed them, by his chart, that they had actually penetrated a hundred leagues further into the straits. Hoping this would animate them, he asked them whether they would advance, or not? The expedient failed; some, indeed, thought that to go on would be well; others declared they would give nearly all they were worth to be safe at home; while another class cared not whither they went, so long as they were free from the ice.

Hudson now appears to have taken his own course. Severely pressed by the wind and floe, he sought a retreat in certain savage islands, which were called the "Isles of God's Mercy;" but even the harbour he considered secure proved beset with dangers. At length they arrived at a broad opening, with a cape on each side; the one on the continent was named Wolstenholme, the other, on the large island of Mansfield, was called Sir Dudley Digges, in honour of the chief patrons of the present expedition. Landing at the latter, and mounting a hill, the men observed some level and grassy spots, where herds of deer grazed, while the rocks were covered with fowls; and, intent, as they usually were, on their own comfort, entreated the captain that they might be allowed to enjoy themselves there for a few days; but as the season was rapidly passing away, Hudson refused to comply. He had not proceeded long in this channel, when there spread out before him a wide ocean, to which no limits could be traced—appearing to him, doubtless, a portion of the mighty Pacific.

The wide expanse was not, however, what he imagined: it was the great inland sea which has been named from him Hudson's Bay. Though it was now the time in which daring navigators had been accustomed to return home, he continued to sail along the coast on the left, hoping, perhaps, to find some temperate spot in which he might safely winter. But, contending with mist and storm, and far from being sustained by his crew, he passed three months without making any such discovery. And now the ice closing in on all sides, intimated that the rigorous season of winter had actually commenced. The sailors attempted, too late, to rear a wooden house; but their chief consternation arose from the small remnant of their six months' pro-



vision. Carefully husbanding this, Hudson promised a reward to every man who should kill beast, bird, or fish. It is said, too, "Providence dealt mercifully," for such a number of white partridges were sent, that they secured a hundred dozen in three months. On their disappearance in spring, there succeeded flocks of geese, swans, ducks, and teal, on their flight from south to north. On the air no longer yielding food, the sea yielded them, on the first day, five hundred fishes of tolerable size.

But this success did not continue, and they were reduced to so great an extremity as to eat even frogs. Hudson wished to open an intercourse with the natives, but they fled, setting fire to the woods behind them. The distribution of the small remaining provision gave rise to discontents, though the captain made a general and equal division of the whole. But his crew were unreasonable; one man eating all in one day brought on a dangerous surfeit; and their distress now surpassed all they had before experienced.

Hudson and his crew had from the first been utterly unlike. He wished, most probably, as the season advanced, to press on southwards, and to reach the wealthy regions to which he was destined; they, on the other hand, looked to the cape where fowls abounded, and from whence they might hope to return home. The disaffected were in no want of leaders, and the spirit that had been cherished soon burst forth. The captain had recently displaced Ivet, the mate, as insubordinate, and appointed Bylot, a man of worth and zeal in the enterprise, in his place. A change had also taken place as to the boatswain. But the chief in the conspiracy to seize the vessel, and expose the commander to perish, was Green, an outcast from his friends, whom Hudson, from the kindest feelings, had hoped to reclaim.

The time was now fixed for their murderous design. On the 26th of June, 1611, Green, and Wilson, the boatswain, went into the cabin of Pricket, to whom we owe the narrative, and stated their deadly resolution; but expressing their good-will for him, whom they wished to remain on board. It is most solemnly averred by the narrator, that he exhausted every argument to induce them to desist from their horrid purpose, but utterly in vain. Green replied that they had made up their minds to go through with it, and that they would rather be hanged at home than starve where they were. Pricket now pleaded for delay, even that of a day; but he could not succeed. Of Ivet he had some hope; but on his coming he exceeded Green in violence, declaring that the deed on which they were resolved he would justify in England. Others now appeared, but the same in mind. All was soon ready; but Pricket prevailed upon them to wait till morning; this they did, keeping, however, strict watch through the night.

At the approach of daybreak the captain left his cabin, when he was instantly seized by three of the conspirators, who bound his hands behind his back. On his eagerly inquiring what they purposed, they replied that he should know when he got into the boat. Hudson's most devoted adherent, King, the carpenter, was then attacked; but, as he had a sword, he would have slain his assailant had not others speedily aided the latter. King declined their offer to remain in the



ship, and immediately followed his master, whom they were already letting down the side of the vessel. They now called from their beds, and drove into the shallop, not only those who were favourable to Hudson, but all the sick and infirm, who would have become burdensome. They threw in the carpenter's box, with some powder and shot, cut the boat from the stern, and, hoisting their topsail, fled as from a foe. Hudson and those who were with him, thus abandoned, were never heard of more. The course of the mutineers appears to have been one of perplexity, distress, and crime. At Cape Digges, where fowls were so plentiful, they landed, but were attacked by the savages, and the chief perpetrators of the dreadful tragedy perished from their wounds. Ivot, the sole survivor, sunk beneath the privations he afterwards endured. Those who remained were in their last extremity when Ireland came in view; and they had to mortgage their vessel to obtain the means of reaching Plymouth. A few years after the re-discovery of Greenland by Hudson, the English resorted to it for the purpose of taking whales; since which period its shores have annually been visited by one or other of the nations of Europe, with the same object, to the present time. Thus, by a remarkable arrangement of Divine Providence, though the soil of the whole country will not produce vegetables either suitable or sufficient for a single human being, yet its coasts and adjacent seas have afforded wealth and independence to thousands. .

## CHAPTER VII.

### VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN ROSS AND LIEUTENANT PARRY.

It will be remembered that the probability of accomplishing an important object, by sailing northwards from the Pacific, between America and Asia, led to the third voyage of Captain Cook. The disappointment that ensued caused the neglect of the Polar regions, until Mr. Scoresby, a practical whale-fisher, recalled attention to them.

In 1806 he was acting as mate to his father, who commanded a Greenland ship from Hull. On leaving Jan Mayen and the Whale Bight, and pushing northwards, they reached an open and very extensive sea. They then arrived at a close field of ice, of which it will be well for the reader to form a correct idea. Ice-fields form one of the many wonders of the deep. They are often met with of the diameter of twenty or thirty miles, and sometimes extend to a length of fifty or one hundred miles. The ice of which they are formed is generally pure and fresh, and of an average thickness, when the fields are heavy, of from ten to fifteen feet; but sometimes it is from thirty to forty feet. The surface, before the month of July, is always covered with a bed of snow, from, perhaps, a foot to a fathom in depth.

Now, through this mass the navigators had to work their way, and, in part, by a process which resembles the use of a sort of battering-ram; and, having done this, they came to an open sea, which appeared nearly unbounded, having only the ice on the south and the

land on the east. As their object was to catch whales, they passed from point to point till they arrived in lat. 81 deg. 30 min., being only about 500 geographical miles from the Pole. A fair field of enterprise would now have been opened in other circumstances; but on this commercial engagements forbade their entering. Steering backwards toward Hakluyt's Headland, they caught in its vicinity twenty-four whales, from which they obtained 216 tuns of oil.

It is now desirable, before we proceed, to glance at some of the facts observed in northern expeditions, which will serve to cast a new light on the statements that follow. The first appearance of ice, in a state of detached crystals, resembling snow when cast into water that is too cold to dissolve it, smooths the ruffled surface of the sea, and produces an effect like oil in preventing breakers. These crystals soon unite, and would form a continuous sheet, but for being broken into very small pieces by the motion of the waves. These pieces are scarcely three inches in diameter; many of them coalesce, and form a larger mass. As the undulations of the sea still continue, these larger pieces strike each other on every side, thus becoming rounded, and having their edges turned up. Several of these again unite, and, continuing to increase, form large masses, many yards in circumference, and perhaps a foot in thickness.

But when the sea is perfectly smooth the freezing process goes on more regularly, and probably more rapidly. During twenty-four hours' keen frost, the ice will become an inch or two in thickness, and in less than forty-eight hours' time capable of sustaining the weight of a man. This kind and cake-ice are alike termed *bay-ice*. In every opening of the main body of ice at a distance from the sea, the water is always as smooth as that of a harbour; and in low temperatures all that is necessary for the formation of ice is still water. A large quantity of ice is annually generated in the bays and amidst the islands of Spitzbergen, which bays, towards the end of summer, are commonly emptied of their contents from the thawing of the snow on the mountains causing a current outwards. But the immense fields, which are so abundant in Greenland, evidently come from the northward, and have their origin between Spitzbergen and the Pole.

When a field is broken into a number of pieces, not exceeding forty or fifty yards across, the whole is called a *pack*, when the pieces are broad, they are called a *patch*; and when long and narrow, a *stream*. It often happens that these packs are crowded and heaped together by the violence of the winds, but they again separate in calm weather, and when a ship can sail freely through them, the ice is said to be *loose*, or *open*, and is called *drift ice*. If the ice be crumbled into small pieces, it is called *brash ice*. When a strong wind blows over the surface of the ocean, the motion of the waves prevents solid ice from being at first formed, but the water is congealed into a spongy mass, called *sludge*. This has the effect, to some extent, of stilling the waves; the sludge forming itself into small plates, which being rounded by continual rubbing, are called *pancakes*. These pancakes, adhering together, form a solid surface, which, under the power of the frost, extends in every direction, until, at length, a field of ice is again formed.

Fresh-water ice of the sailors is distinguished by its black appearance when floating in small pieces in the sea, and by its transparency when removed into the air. Fresh-water ice is fragile, but hard; the edges of a fractured part are frequently so keen as to inflict a wound like glass. The most transparent pieces are capable of concentrating the rays of the sun, so as to produce a considerable intensity of heat. "With a lump of ice, of by no means regular convexity," says Mr. Scoresby, "I have frequently burned wood, fired gunpowder, melted lead, and lit the sailors' pipes, to their great astonishment, all of whom, who could procure the needful articles, eagerly flocked around me, for the satisfaction of smoking a pipe ignited by such extraordinary means. Their astonishment was increased by observing that the ice remained firm and pellucid, while the solar rays emerging from it were so hot that the hand could not be kept longer in the focus than for the space of a few seconds. In the formation of these lenses, I roughed them out with a small axe, and then scraped them with a knife, polishing them merely by the warmth of the hand, supporting them during the operation with a wooden glove. I once procured a piece of the purest ice, so large that a lens of sixteen inches diameter was obtained out of it; unhappily, however, the sun became obscured before it was completed, and never made its appearance again for a fortnight, during which time, the air being mild, the lens was 'spoiled.'"

There is a singular appearance on the verge of the horizon, called *ice-blink*, by which fields and other masses of floating ice are often discovered at a great distance. The ice-blink is a band of lucid whiteness, caused by the glare of light reflected obliquely from the surface of the ice against the opposite atmosphere. Always looking brightest in clear weather, it points out to the experienced mariner, twenty or thirty miles beyond the limit of direct vision, not only the extent and figure, but also the quality of the ice. The blink, from packs of ice, appears of a pure white, while that occasioned by wide plains of snow has a yellowish tinge.

Nor have we stated the whole service rendered to seamen by the ice-blink, for it often exhibits dark spots or patches, which correspond to certain openings of the water, the existence of which could not otherwise be known. When beset by ice the mariner endeavours to make his way in their direction. A singular effect is often produced by the ice-blink, called *looming*, whereby objects near the horizon appear distorted, repeated, and often elevated in the air. Mr. Scoresby, on one occasion, having approached so near the unexplored shore of Greenland, that the land appeared distinct and bold, was anxious to make a sketch of it; but on attempting to draw it he found the outline of the scene to be constantly changing.

Its appearance, on examining the coast through a telescope, was that "of an ancient city, abounding with the ruins of castles, obelisks, churches, and monuments, with other large and conspicuous buildings. Some of the hills seemed to be surmounted by turrets, battlements, spires, and pinnacles; while others, subjected to one or two reflections, exhibited large masses of rock, apparently suspended in the air, at a considerable elevation above the actual termination of



the mountains to which they referred. The whole exhibition was a grand phantasmagoria. Scarcely was any portion sketched before it changed its appearance, and assumed the form of an object totally different. It was, perhaps, alternately a castle, a cathedral, or an obelisk; then expanding horizontally and coalescing with the adjoining hills united the intermediate valleys, though some miles in width, by a bridge of a single arch, of the most magnificent appearance and extent. Notwithstanding these repeated changes, the various figures represented in the drawing had all the distinctness of reality; and not only the different strata, but also the veins of the rocks, with the wreaths of snow occupying ravines and fissures, formed sharp and distinct lines, and exhibited every appearance of the most perfect solidity."

On the same coast, Mr. Scoresby saw on another occasion an inverted image of a ship in the air, and in looking at it through his telescope, he could distinguish the general rig of the ship, and even every sail, inasmuch that he confidently pronounced it to be his father's ship, the *Fame*, which it afterwards proved to be; though, on comparing notes with his father, he found that their relative positions at the time gave a distance from one another of very nearly thirty miles, being about seventeen miles beyond the horizon, and some leagues beyond the limit of direct vision. Mr. Scoresby was so struck with the peculiarity of the sight at the time, that he mentioned it to the officer of the watch, stating his full conviction that the *Fame* was then cruising in the neighbouring inlet.

An iceberg, or ice-mountain, is a large insulated peak of floating ice, or a glacier, occupying a ravine or valley, generally opening towards the sea in an arctic country. Their upper surfaces are generally concave; the higher parts are always covered with snow, and have a beautiful appearance; but the lower parts, in the latter end of every summer, present a bare surface of ice. The front of each, which varies in height from the level of the ocean to four or five hundred feet above it, lies parallel with the shore, and is generally washed by the sea. This part, resting on the strand, is undermined to such an extent by the sea, when any way turbulent, that immense masses, loosened by the freezing of water lodged in the recesses in winter, or by the effect of streams of water running over its surface and through its chasms in summer, break asunder, and with a thundering noise fall into the sea.

Icebergs, though formed of more solid ice than glaciers, are, in every other respect, very similar. The ice of which they consist is, indeed, a little porous, but considerable pieces are found of perfect transparency. They are considered to have the same kind of origin as glaciers, and the time of their first stratum is nearly coeval with the land on which they are lodged.

In the Spitzbergen sea, icebergs are neither numerous nor bulky, compared with those of other regions; the largest ever met with by Scoresby, in this quarter, not exceeding a thousand yards in circumference, and two hundred feet in thickness; but in Hudson's Strait, Davis's Strait, and Baffin's Bay, they occur of a prodigious size. Ellis describes them as sometimes reaching the thickness of five

or six hundred yards. Frobisher saw one iceberg which was judged to be near fourscore fathoms above water. Another has been described, by recent navigators, as measuring 4,169 yards (paces) long, 3,669 yards broad, and fifty-one feet high. The weight of this iceberg, taken at somewhat smaller dimensions, was estimated by an officer of the *Alexander* at 1,292,397,673 tons. This amount, however, says Scoresby, to whom we are indebted for these facts, is greater than the truth; the cubical inch of ice being taken at 240 grains, whereas it does not exceed 231.5 grains.

The most abundant source of icebergs known in the Arctic regions is Baffin's Bay. From this remarkable sea they constantly make their way towards the south, down Davis's Strait, and are scattered abroad in the Atlantic to an amazing extent. The banks of Newfoundland are occasionally crowded with these wonderful productions of the Frigid Zone; beyond which they are sometimes conveyed, by the operation of the southerly under-current, as low as latitude 40 deg. north, and even lower, a distance of at least 2,000 miles from the place of their origin.

Icebergs commonly float on a base which is larger in extent than the upper surface. Hence the proportion of ice appearing above water is seldom less in elevation than one-seventh of the whole thickness; and when the summit is concealed, the elevation above water is frequently one-fourth of the whole depth of the berg. The most general form of icebergs, perhaps, is with one high perpendicular side, the opposite side very low, and the intermediate surface forming a gradual slope. It has been observed that when they are of this form the higher end is generally to windward. Some icebergs have regular flat surfaces, but most commonly they have different acute summits, and occasionally exhibit the most fantastic shapes. Some have been seen containing prodigious caverns, or having many clefts or cracks in the most elevated parts, so as to give the appearance of several distinct spires. On some icebergs, where there are hollows, a great quantity of snow accumulates; others are smooth and naked.

A very general appearance of icebergs is that of cliffs of chalk, or of white or grey marble. The sun's rays reflected from them sometimes give a glistening appearance to their surfaces. In the night icebergs are readily distinguished, even at a distance, by their natural effulgence; and in foggy weather by a peculiar blackness in the atmosphere, by which the danger to the navigator is diminished. As, however, they occur far from land, and often in unexpected situations, navigators require to be always on the watch for them. From the iceberg's firmness, it often affords a stable mooring to the ships in strong adverse winds, and the fisher likewise avails himself of it when his object is to gain a windward station more open. He moors under the lee of the iceberg, loose ice soon forces past, the ship remains nearly stationary, and the wished-for effect seldom fails to arise. Vessels have, however, often been staved, and sometimes wrecked, by the fall of their icy mooring; while smaller objects, such as boats, have been repeatedly overwhelmed, even at a considerable distance, by the vast waves occasioned by such events.

The great interest which has been connected with the idea of a sea



communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by the north, ever since it was first suggested, nearly 400 years ago, is fully proved by the facts, that the speculation has never but once been abandoned by the nations of Europe for more than twenty-five years together, and that there have been only three or four intervals of more than fifteen years in which an expedition was sent out in search of one or other of the supposed passages, from the year 1500 down to the present time. Nor is it a little surprising that, after nearly a hundred different voyages have been undertaken, with a view of discovering the desired communication with the Indian seas, all of which have failed, Britain should again revive, and attempt the solution of this interesting problem.

Several facts, says Scoresby, may be brought forward, on which arguments of no mean force may be founded, in support of the opinion of the existence of a sea communication, by the north, between Europe and China. They may be enumerated in order:—

“1. The prevailing current in the Spitzbergen sea flows, we are well assured, during nine months of the year, if not all the year round, from the north-east towards the south-west. The velocity of this current may be from five to twenty miles per day, varying in different situations; but it is most considerable near the coast of Old Greenland. The current, on the other hand, in the middle of Behring's Strait, as observed by Lieutenant Kotzebue, sets strongly to the north-east, with a velocity, as he thought, of two miles and a-half an hour, which is greater, however, by one-half, than the rate observed by Captain Cook.

“2. By the action of the south-westerly current a vast quantity of ice is annually brought from the north and east, and conducted along the east coast of Old Greenland, as far as Cape Farewell, where such masses as still remain undissolved are soon destroyed by the violence of the solar heat and the force of the sea, to which they have become exposed from almost every quarter. This ice being entirely free from salt, and very compact, appears originally to have consisted of field-ice, a kind which, perhaps, requires the action of frost for many years to bring it to the thickness which it assumes. The quantity of heavy ice on surface which is thus annually dissolved, may, at a rough calculation, be stated to be about 20,000 square leagues; while the quantity annually generated in the region accessible to the whale-fishers, is, probably, not more than one-fourth of that area. As such, the ice, which is so inexhaustible, must require an immense surface of sea for its generation; perhaps the whole, or the greater part, of the so-called Polar Basin—the supply required for replacing what is dissolved in Behring's Strait, where the current sets towards the north, being, probably, of small moment. The current in opposite parts of the northern hemisphere being thus found to follow the same line of direction, indicates a communication between the two across the Poles; and the inexhaustible supply of ice, affording about 15,000 square leagues, to be annually dissolved above the quantity generated in the known parts of the Spitzbergen seas, supports the same conclusion.

“3. The origin of the considerable quantity of drift-wood found in



almost every part of the Greenland sea, is traced to the same country beyond the Pole, and may be brought forward in aid of the opinion of the existence of a sea-communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific; which argument receives additional strength from the circumstance of some of the drift-wood being worm-eaten. This last fact I first observed on the shores of the island of Jan Mayen, in August, 1817, and confirmed it by more particular observation when at Spitzbergen the year following. Having no axe with me when I observed the worm-eaten wood, and having no means of bringing it away, I could not ascertain whether the holes observed in the timber were the work of a ptinus or a pholas. In either case, however, as it is not known that these animals ever pierce wood in Arctic countries, it is presumed that the worm-eaten drift-wood is derived from a trans-polar region. Numerous facts of this nature might be adduced, all of which support the same conclusion.

"4. The northern faces of the continents of Europe and Asia, as well as that of America, so far as yet known, are such as render it difficult even to imagine such a position for the unascertained regions as to cut off the communication between the Frozen Sea, near the meridian of London, and that in the opposite part of the northern hemisphere, near Behring's Strait.

"5. Whales, which have been harpooned in the Greenland seas, have been found in the Pacific Ocean; and whales, with stone lances sticking in their fat (a kind of weapon used by no nation now known), have been caught, both in the sea of Spitzbergen and in Davis's Strait. This fact, which is sufficiently authenticated, seems to me the most satisfactory argument."

For half a century, however, there had been no adventure in the northern seas, a general impression prevailing that so many expeditions had set the question of the north-west passage at rest; but it was evident to Mr. Barrow that the question was actually undecided. Baffin had sailed round the bay which still bears his name, but his examination was not sufficient to establish that continuity of land with which the maps represented it as inclosed. Striking facts showed that there must be a communication with the Greenland sea on the one side, and the Pacific Ocean on the other. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 in reference to Hudson's Bay, but no progress had yet been made. The way was, therefore, still open for further, and it was hoped successful, enterprise.

Accordingly, in 1818 the Admiralty fitted out an expedition for the discovery of the north-west passage. The *Isabella*, of 385 tons, was commanded by Captain John Ross, an officer of reputation and considerable experience; and the *Alexander*, of 252 tons, was entrusted to a young officer, Lieutenant Parry. On the 27th of May Cape Farewell came into view, and round this, as usual, numerous and lofty icebergs, various in form and tint, were floating. When in the neighbourhood of Waygatz island, their course was arrested by an impenetrable barrier, and they made themselves fast to an iceberg, having forty-five whale ships in company. At length, from the breaking of the ice, they could move forward slowly along the coast, moving through narrow and intricate channels. On coming in about latitude

50 deg., to a coast which had not been visited by former navigators, they were struck, as Baffin had been, by the great number of whales, which had never been disturbed. A heavy gale springing up, the ice was driven against the vessels with terrific power, but, providentially, when danger was at its height, they happily escaped with trifling injury.

The expedition, on reaching a high mountainous coast, came to a tribe of Esquimaux, who had never before looked on civilised men. At the sight they were greatly alarmed, yet they advanced as if under some attractive influence, but looking significantly at each other, and holding fast the long knives which were lodged in their boots. With the strangers there was a young man named Saccheous, a native of Greenland, who had visited Europe more than once with whalers, and who, at his own wish, was engaged as interpreter to the discovery ships; and as the Esquimaux came to a chasm which separated them from their visitors, they made signs that he should come across. On his doing so, and offering his hand, they, alarmed for some time, shrunk back; but on the boldest touching it, and finding it like his own, he set up a loud shout, in which three others joined. Eight others, accompanied by fifty dogs, then came up, and Ross and Parry advanced.

Alarmed at this movement, the Esquimaux were about to retreat, when Saccheous having taught the visitors to pull their noses, this act was accepted as a sign of amity. On seeing their faces in a mirror, their astonishment was extreme; silently looking at each other for a few moments, then shouting lustily, and loudly laughing with surprise and delight. Thinking the ship was some huge bird, and able to understand them, one of them gravely pulled his nose, and proposed the inquiries:—"Who are you? Whence came you? Is it from the sun or moon?" As the ship was silent, they applied to Saccheous, who told them it was made of timber by the hands of man. At the sails they were greatly amazed, wondering what animals could furnish such skins. The desire of possession succeeded to their amazement. They tried, first, a spare topmast, then a anchor, and, as these proved too heavy, the anvil, but, as this was fixed, they made off with the smith's large hammer.

Continuing his course, Captain Ross arrived at an extensive bay, which had not hitherto been discovered, and afterwards at one which Baffin called Alderman Johnson's Sound, but they afforded no hope of a passage. The end of August was now approaching; the sun set after an uninterrupted day of two months and a half, and the lengthening nights were rendered more gloomy by a thick fog. High and steep hills appeared at some distance, but with some spots fit for human habitations. On the expedition coming to a most magnificent inlet, bordered by grand and lofty mountains, while the water was clear and free from ice, they entered this channel, which soon proved to be Lancaster Sound, discovered and named by Baffin, and which they ascended for thirty miles. While doing so, the officers and men crowded the topmast, full of hope; but Captain Ross soon thought he discovered a high ridge stretching directly across the inlet, and though it was deeply involved in mist, he considered a passage in this direction

to be impracticable. As the sea was open, the commander proceeded, but the land was soon seen stretching very nearly across the entire bay, and accordingly the signal was made to steer the vessels out of Lancaster Sound. The commander now steered southward along the western shore, without seeing any entrance that afforded equal promise. Only Cumberland Strait was of similar magnitude, but as it could lead only into the higher latitude of Hudson's Bay, and gave little hope of a passage into the Arctic Sea, after a survey of some of these shores, the expedition returned home early in October.

On arriving in England Ross was fully persuaded that Lancaster Sound is a bay, affording no entrance into any western sea; but those who had fitted out the expedition were of a contrary opinion; and this was warmly supported by several of the officers, and especially by Lieutenant Parry. A second expedition was, therefore, entrusted to him, consisting of the *Hecla*, of 375 tons, and a crew of 58 men; and with the *Griper* gun-brig, of 180 tons, and 36 men, commanded by Lieutenant Laddon. The vessels were adapted in strength to the Arctic Seas, and were provided with ample stores for two years.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SECOND AND THIRD VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN PARRY.

With great spirit Lieutenant Parry entered on his new career. He left the *Nore* on the 11th of May, 1819, endeavouring to cross the Atlantic about the parallel of 58 deg., and, though impeded by unfavourable weather during the early part of June, had, on the 15th, a distant view of the cliffs forming Cape Farewell. The winged inhabitants of the northern sky soon appeared, as did the icebergs of the Arctic Ocean. He now laboured to push north and west, through the icy masses, in the direction of Lancaster Sound, but they suddenly closed upon him, and, on the 25th, both vessels were immovably fixed in the ice. On the morning of the second day, however, a heavy roll of the sea loosened the ice, and drove it against them with such violence that, but for their strength, they must have been severely injured. Relinquishing the idea of reaching Lancaster Sound by the most direct course, Parry resolved to steer northward along the border of this great icy field till they should find open water. But, having reached lat. 73 deg., he determined on pushing to the westward. Obstacles now increased in their way; at length, only one lengthened floe separated them from an open sea. This they laboriously sawed through, and saw the shore, clear of ice, stretching before them.

On the 30th of July they were at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, strongly excited in reference to the issue of their enterprise. A fresh breeze, however, retarded their course. Still there was no appearance of obstruction either from ice or land, and the heavy swell, that drove the water repeatedly in at the stern windows, was hailed as an



indication of open sea to the westward. An easterly breeze led to all sails being set; the mast-heads were crowded with officers and men, and all tidings from the crow's-nest, the highest pinnacle, were heard on deck with eager interest. At midnight they were nearly 150 miles from the entrance of the sound, and it was still 50 miles broad. Hope rose high that their success to a great extent was secured.

Various circumstances now led the navigators to think that they had passed the region of straits and inlets, and were now on the expanse of the Polar Basin; and they hoped that nothing would impede their progress to Icy Cape, the western boundary of America. Appearances arose, however, to excite apprehension, and particularly when a line of continuous ice appeared on the south, proving to be joined to a compact and impenetrable body of floes, which completely crossed the channel, and joined the western point of Maxwell Bay. They had therefore immediately to draw back, lest they should be embayed in the ice, along the edges of which a violent surf was then beating; and seeing to the south an open sea, with a dark water-sky, Parry, hoping this might lead to an open passage in a lower latitude, steered in this direction, but found himself at the mouth of a great inlet, ten leagues broad, with no visible termination.

Obstructed by ice on the western shore, the navigators turned to the eastern, when they entered a broad and open channel, the coast of which was singularly dreary and desolate, showing scarcely any signs of animal or vegetable life. The irregularity of the compass, indicating an approach to the magnetic pole, greatly increased the difficulty of navigation. They sailed, however, 120 miles up this inlet, and as it widened their hopes increased; but, to their great alarm, they suddenly observed the ice alter from its parallel course, running close in with a point of land which appeared to form the southern extremity of the eastern shore. To this foreland they gave the name of Cape Kater. The western horizon, also, appeared covered with heavy and extensive floes, a bright and dazzling ice-blink extending from right to left. The name of the Prince Regent was given to this spacious inlet, which the commander strongly suspected must have a communication with Hudson's Bay.

He now determined to return to the old station, and to wait till the ice should allow the vessels to proceed westward. Again difficulties arose; but a few days after all the ice had disappeared. Lieutenant Parry now pushed onwards, and discovered a fine and broad inlet, leading to the north, to which he gave the name of Wellington; and so high were the hopes of the officers, that they considered it as forming part of the western boundary of the land stretching from Baffin's Bay to the Polar Sea, into which they had little doubt they were entering. This led the commander to give to the great channel, which was supposed to effect so desirable a junction, the name of Barrow's Strait, in honour of the chief promoter of the expedition.

At a small island, they called Byam Martin, they concluded, from some experiments, that they had passed the magnetic meridian, situated probably in about 100 deg. west longitude, and where the compass would have pointed due south, instead of north. It was with great difficulty they now proceeded; but, notwithstanding this, they

reached the coast of an island, larger than any before discovered, to which they gave the name of Melville. On the fourth of September the commander conveyed the joyful tidings to his crew, that they had reached one hundred and ten degrees west longitude, and had become entitled to the reward of £5,000 promised by Parliament to the first ship's company, who should reach that meridian. Again, with increased ardour, they proceeded on their way, but were soon obstructed by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and after waiting nearly a fortnight, their state became truly alarming, for the commander was convinced, that with the calm of a single hour, they would be frozen up in the midst of the sea. Their only course was to return, and to choose between two apparently good harbours, which had been recently passed in Melville Island. It was with difficulty he reached this place, and chose the western haven; but it was necessary to cut his way for two miles through a large floe. The seamen for this purpose marked with boarding-pikes two parallel lines, at the distance of somewhat more than the breadth of the larger ship. In the first place, they sawed along the track marked out, and then by cross-sawings detached large pieces, which were separated diagonally in order to be floated out, and sometimes boat-sails were fastened to them, to take the advantage of a favourable breeze. For some time the ice was daily cleared around them, but this was soon found to be an endless toil, and the vessels were allowed to be regularly frozen in for the winter. To the various groups of islands the commander had passed, he gave the name of "The North Georgian Islands," in honour of his majesty George IV.

In the Arctic regions the scurvy becomes an alarming disease, which has made many victims. It appears, however, that one great cause of it is the use of improper aliment. It has been stated indeed, on competent authority, that by the use of fresh provisions, with, occasionally, oleaginous substances, frequent exercise, and a warm clothing and dwelling, exposure to the severities of a Spitzbergen winter would be attended by little peril. Mr. Scoresby says: "Whenever I have had occasion to expose myself to severe cold, I have found that the more I am heated, the longer I can resist the cold without inconvenience. The warmth produced by simple fluids, such as tea or soup, is preferable to that occasioned by spirits. After the liberal use of tea, I have often sustained cold ten degrees at the mast-head for several hours without uneasiness. I have frequently gone from the breakfast table, where the temperature was 50 or 60 degrees, to the mast head, where it was 10, without any other additional clothing, except a cap, yet I never received any injury, and seldom much inconvenience, from the uncommon transition."

Aware of the tendency to the scurvy, Parry now proceeded to do all he could, firmly but kindly, to abate the evils of wintering in the Arctic regions. Special precautions were taken against the attacks of disease. The cabin was made as comfortable as possible; but still, around its extremities and in the bed-places, steam, vapour, and even the breath settled as moisture, and then as ice. When the few books were exhausted, original compositions were produced. "The North Georgian Gazette" was got up and put into circulation; and the theatre



cal entertainments were resorted to. Throughout the winter, the officers, at the period of twilight, took a walk of two or three hours, but they did not proceed further than a mile, lest they should be overtaken by a snow-drift. Their promenade was very monotonous, but they perseveringly continued their exercise, which was also enforced on the men, who, when prevented by the weather from leaving the vessel, were made to keep time, while they ran round the deck, to the tune of an organ.

Health was, by these means, happily preserved. The gunner was attacked early in January, but the remedies applied succeeded. Some slighter cases, which subsequently occurred, were aggravated by accident. While the men were running round the deck to the sound of music, a house on the shore, containing some of the most valuable instruments, was observed to be on fire. Hurrying away, the crew pulled off the roof with ropes, knocked down a part of the sides, and throwing in large quantities of snow, succeeded in quenching the flames. But their faces presented a singular appearance, every nose and cheek being white with frost bites, which required to be rubbed with snow in order to restore animation. It became necessary, in the case of one man, to amputate several of his fingers, and no fewer than sixteen of the crew were added to the sick list.

The health of the crew, which had caused much anxiety at the end of March, was completely restored towards the end of June. Before that time, Lieutenant Parry had made an excursion across Melville Island. Much softened snow still remained, and even the cleared tracts, though chequered with patches of fine verdure, were extremely desolate. Considerable numbers of deer were seen traversing the plains. Another island, to which was given the name of Sabine, appeared towards the north. Everywhere pools were formed, the water flowed in streams, and even in torrents, so that hunting and travelling were alike unsafe. There were also channels through which boats could pass, and yet throughout this and the following month, the great covering of ice in the surrounding sea remained entire, and kept the ships in harbour. On the second of August, however, by one of those sudden movements to which it is liable, the whole mass broke up and floated out; and the navigators had now open water, in which to pursue their object.

They were cheered by the thought that it was at this very season as which, last year, they entered Lancaster Sound, and if they were only as prosperous this summer, the next they might not be far from Behring's Strait. But they had not proceeded far, before the frozen surface of the ocean presented a more compact and impenetrable aspect than they had before beheld. From some of the lofty heights which bordered the coast, and, in a long reach of sea to the westward, no limit could be seen to these icy barriers. There appeared only the western extremity of Melville Island, named Cape Dundas; and in the distance, a bold coast, which they named Banks' Land. All they could do, therefore, was to make their way homeward while the season permitted.

It was with great exultation that Lieutenant Parry was received on his return; and it was not long before a new expedition was fitted



out, in which the *Fury*, of 927 tons, was united with the *Hecla*, of which Captain Lyon had the command, while in the former Lieutenant Parry, now raised to the rank of Captain, hoisted his flag. They set sail on the 8th of May, 1821, and reached the mouth of Hudson's Strait on the 2nd of July. All around, to the eye even of Captain Parry, appeared singularly desolate. Fifty-four icebergs soon surrounded the ships, one of them rising nearly 260 feet above the sea, attended by large floes, and having a rotatory motion. So great was their strength that two of Captain Lyon's hawsers were carried away, and even the best bower anchor, weighing more than a ton, was wrenched from the bows and snapped asunder.

So obstructed was their course that they made only seventy miles in nineteen days, at the end of which they were within two leagues of what are called the Savage Islands. A loud shouting was heard over the ice, on the following afternoon, and soon after there appeared a band of natives, paddling their canoes through the channels of open water, or drawing them over the pieces of ice. Among these boats or kayaks, each rowed by a single man, were five *oomiaks*, or women's boats, of considerable size, but constructed of a framework of wood and whale-bone, covered with deer-skins. A scene of frolic and business now took place. They traded, as usual, in skins, stripping themselves to supply commodities, and though they thought to demand a high price, shouted with delight on receiving a razor or a saw. Their aspect was more than usually wild, and their character seemed more savage and fierce than had previously been observed. The old women were exceedingly repulsive, and the children bore a strong resemblance to the young of wild animals. The barbarians indulged in some practical jokes, and had a dance in which violent leaping and stamping predominated.



ESQUIMAUX.

Reaching the entrance of Fox's Channel, and coming in view of Southampton Island, Captain Parry determined to sail up the inlet.

He soon came to an opening stretching westward; it proved to be a spacious and beautiful basin, which he named the Duke of York's Bay, and considered it one of the finest harbours in the world. Pursuing his voyage, he came to another strait, only partially cumbered with ice, but darkened with fogs, and at length discovered that they were in the broad channels of the Welcome. Speedily entering Republic Bay, in which some hope had been entertained of a passage, they made an examination by boats, but found there was no outlet.

Captain Parry now began to track a coast hitherto unknown. The name of Gore was given to an inlet which was soon observed, but was found to be of limited extent. Grass and moss richly covered the valleys at the mouth of this opening, and the pleasing spectacle was still further culivened by the gay tints of butterflies and the sweet songs of birds, strangely contrasting, indeed, with the vast piles of ice and the frozen strait. Hunting parties now traversed the country in various directions, on the principle that all game was to be surrendered for the general good, with certain parts as the perquisites of the captor.

A labyrinth of isles now appeared, while strong currents, fogs, and drifting ice, placed the navigators in extreme peril. Only one channel was observed, and through this they made their escape. Yet having gained the open sea, and being driven before a strong northerly breeze, they found themselves at the very point they had reached nearly a month before. They had, indeed, been engaged in finding nothing, for the simple reason that there was nothing to find.

On reaching the northern coast, the captain explored a large inlet, to which he gave the name of Captain Lyon; then a smaller one, which he called after Lieutenant Hoppner; and connecting these with Gore Inlet, he completed his description of the coast. He now found himself suddenly in the depth of winter; snow covered the ground, which in some instances had been melted and then refrozen in beautiful forms, but the covering of Melville Island had not suffered any change. A soft ice was now forming on the surface of the sea, against which the ship, aided by a brisk gale, could easily make its way; but it continually increased, until the vessel was made fast. At the same time the various pieces of drift-ice were cemented into one great field, threatening every moment to bear down on the vessels and dash them in pieces. Thus beset with difficulties and dangers, the navigators resolved to saw into the heart of an adjoining floe, and there to take up their winter quarters. Again, therefore, were they frozen up in the midst of the Northern Sea, and the arrangements which had been previously found effective were now repeated. A school was established, in which the sailors conned once more their early lessons. Writing, as well as reading, was taught; and those who, two months before, could scarcely form a letter, produced, by Christmas, sixteen well-written copies.

On the 1st of February they were visited by a party of Esquimaux, who carried on the usual traffic of this people. The strangers were now invited to visit their habitations, though as yet they were invisible. But on being led to a hole in the snow, and directed to place themselves on their hands and knees, they crept through a long winding

passage and arrived at a hall, with a dome-shaped roof, whence doors opened into three apartments, each one occupied by a family. The materials and structure of these abodes were very singular. Snow was formed into carved slabs of about two feet long and six inches thick, and were so cleverly put together as to form a series of structures resembling cupolas, rising about seven feet above the ground, and being from fourteen to sixteen feet in diameter. A plate of ice in the roof served as a window, and readily admitted the light. It was not long, however, before filth and smoke rendered these chambers to the senses of an European very disagreeable. The Esquimaux village appeared at first like a cluster of hillocks amid the snow, but successive falls filled up the vacuities and rendered the surface almost smooth. On a thaw advancing the ceiling begins to drip; and after vain attempts to render it weather-proof, the inhabitants betake themselves to a more durable lodgment. A lamp is suspended in each room; moss forms the wick, and it is fed by the oil of the seal or the walrus, and serves as the light and fire of the snow-dwelling. A bench formed of snow, placed round the chamber and covered with skins, is the seat of the household. The Esquimaux now visited the ships, and were regaled by the navigators, who, for some time at a loss to please their palates, found the greatest delicacies were train oil, the entrails of animals, and any other substances of fat or grease.

When the surface of snow on fields is frozen, or even when the snow is generally dissolved, it is easily passable without snow-skates or



ESQUIMAUX'S FLOAT.

sledges; but when the snow is soft and deep, it is very laborious to travel any distance on foot. Accordingly, these Esquimaux made use



of sledges, drawn by dogs, for conveying them across the rough land-ice, lying between the ships and the shore.

Another and more singular mode of transition on the water was observed by some of our voyagers. About a mile from the beach a native was seen coming off to them, as he approached they observed that instead of a canoe he was seated on three inflated seal-skins connected most ingeniously by blown intestines, so that his vessel was extremely buoyant. He was astride upon one skin, while another of a larger size was secured on either side of it, so that he was placed in a kind of hollow. His legs, enveloped in seal-skin boots, were immersed nearly to the knees in water; and he rowed with a slender soot-stained paddle of whale bone, which was secured to his float by a thong.

On the advance of spring the officers, dwelling on their prospects of discovery, found that their neighbours had a considerable knowledge of the seas and coast. One female, in particular, named Iliglieck, having a pencil put into her hand, traced the shore from Repulse Bay so accurately as to awaken great confidence in what she might proceed to describe. She then exhibited the eastern limits of Melville Peninsula; and on her pencil taking a westerly direction, she represented a strait between two opposite lands, which opened on each side till it spread into an apparently unbounded ocean. So highly gratified were the navigators with the sketch that excited their sanguine hopes, that they bestowed attentions on Iliglieck, which so excited her vanity that it was necessary to discontinue them. Captain Lyon, meanwhile, took two journeys, in which he and his party endured much suffering, and were exposed to imminent perils.

On the 2nd of July they resumed their voyage, while a strong current from the north was bringing down the ice with great force. Severe pressure was now endured by the Hecla, and within five or six hundred yards of the Fury there was such a concussion, by two large floes dashing against each other, that numberless huge masses were thrown fifty or sixty feet in the air. The vessels happily escaped being dashed to pieces by these movements; still the current was regarded with much interest, as they concluded it came from the western ocean, which they were so desirous to reach. The ice passed by, and the ships proceeded, favoured by the wind and tide.

The shores began now to have their summer appearance, and arctic plants richly covered the ground, while the deer sported, and the birds added to the gaiety of the scene. Proceeding northwards, appearances excited the hope that they were approaching the strait which Iliglieck had indicated as forming the entrance into the Polar Basin, and especially as they reached the small island of Iglookik, which she had pointed out as situated at the very commencement of the passage. But, severe was their disappointment; a sheet of ice, stretching from shore to shore, blocked up the passage, on which the midsummer sun had not yet taken the slightest effect. Captain Parry, with a party of six, took a journey over its frozen surface. On attaining the summit of a bold cape, he had no doubt that he beheld the Polar Sea; and, though formidable barriers of ice intervened, he entertained ardent hopes of forcing his way into it.

A curious form of ice was observed about this time. It was composed, on its upper surface, "of numberless irregular needle-like crystals, placed vertically, and nearly close together; their length varying, in different pieces of ice, from five to ten inches, and their breadth in the middle about half an inch, but pointed at both ends. The upper surface of ice having this structure, sometimes looks like greenish velvet; a vertical section of it, which frequently occurs at the margin of floes, resembles, while it remains compact, the most beautiful satin-spar, and asbestos when falling to pieces. In the early part of the season, this kind of ice afforded pretty firm footing; but as the summer advanced, the needles became more loose and moveable, rendering it extremely fatiguing to walk over them, besides cutting our boots and feet, on which account the men called them penknives."

Returning to the ship, Parry's arrival proved very seasonable, for the barrier had disappeared, and the next morning the water was open. A favourable wind now drove them onwards, and they were looking for success to compensate all their disappointments, when suddenly it was stated that ice, removed from its winter station, occupied the whole breadth of the channel. On reaching it they found it soft and porous, and bearing down upon it with all their canvas, they actually forced their way through a space of three or four hundred yards; but there they became absolutely fast. During the whole season the ships were unable to advance a single step, and the only information that could be gained was by means of land-journeys. One party penetrated sixty miles westward, along the southern coast of Cockburn Island, till they reached a pinnacle, from which they unquestionably saw the Polar Ocean spreading out before them its vast expanse; but an approach was rendered impossible by tremendous barriers of ice.

The situation they now occupied was very unfavourable; whereas, by returning to the small island of Iglookik, they would be ready to catch the earliest opening. Here, therefore, the vessels were put into harbour, after the way for them had been sawn as usual. For seven weeks they were deprived of the beams of the sun. With a colony of Esquimaux they had some intercourse; they belonged to the same tribe as that the mariners had met at Winter Island, but they appeared to be more selfish, and were indifferent to those of their own people who were in a debilitated and suffering state.

Captain Lyon attempted to cross Melville Peninsula, but in nineteen days he was compelled to return, from the ruggedness of the route, discovering only two rapid rivers, falling into the sea near Iglookik. Lieutenant Hoppner went with a party of natives to Cockburn Island, but could not proceed to any distance inland. Captain Parry now renounced the hope of effecting anything important during the remainder of the season, and it was only by severe sawing they could reach the open sea. He purposed, however, to bring all the stores of the other vessel on board the *Fury*, and with it to brave a third winter in the arctic regions, hoping for a prosperous issue in the succeeding summer; but symptoms of scurvy appeared in many of the crew, and rendered the bold project impracticable. After two years passed

in polar climes, from whence no rumour of their existence had been heard in Britain, they arrived at Shetland on the 10th of October, 1823. They entered the Thames in a few days.

## CHAPTER IX.

### FOURTH VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN PARRY.

IN 1824, his Majesty George IV. having commanded that another attempt should be made for the discovery of a north-west passage to the Pacific, by way of Prince Regent's Inlet, authority was once more conferred on Captain Parry, whose exploits had so deservedly earned him the approbation of his country. At the same time Captain Franklin, undaunted by the perilous expedition by land in which he had already been engaged, and by the magnitude of the proposed undertaking, having, with the promptness and perseverance peculiar to his character, proposed to connect the discoveries he had made at the mouth of the Coppermine River \* with the furthest known point on the western side of America, by descending the Mackenzie River, and, with the assistance of his intrepid associate, Dr. Richardson, by coasting the northern shores, in opposite directions, towards the two previously-discovered points, his Majesty also commanded that this expedition should be simultaneously undertaken. Limiting our present attention to the narrative of Captain Parry, we find that the Admiralty applied themselves, with their usual alacrity, to supply him with everything which could assist him in his arduous undertaking. The *Hecla* was arranged to carry him to the northern coast of Spitzbergen, where she was to be secured in a safe harbour or cove; and with her were sent two boats, to be dragged or navigated, according to circumstances, from that island to the Pole. These boats were framed of ash and hickory, covered with waterproof canvass, over which were successive planks of fir and oak, with a sheet of stout felt interposed, and accordingly united the greatest possible degree of strength and elasticity. The interior was made capacious and flat-floored, somewhat as in troop-boats, and a runner attached to each side of the keel fitted them to be drawn along the ice like a sledge. Wheels were also taken on board, in case their use should be found practicable.

The adventurers started on the 27th of March, 1827, and on the 19th of April entered the fine harbour of Hammerfest in Norway, where they remained two or three weeks, and took on board eight reindeer, with a quantity of picked moss for their provender. Soon after leaving this place they found themselves among the ice, and met a number of whale ships. On the 13th of May they were in view of

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\* An account of Captain Franklin's adventures will be found in the volume of the WORKING MAN'S LIBRARY, entitled "Foot-prints of Travellers."



## CHAPTER XI.

## SECOND VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN ROSS.

THE feeling which had been so long awakened and sustained, now appeared to be quenched by so much ill success as to the object contemplated. Even the Board of Longitude was abolished, and the reward of £20,000 offered by Parliament was withdrawn. But while the spirit of enterprise seemed repressed in one direction, it was manifest in another, as we shall now proceed to show.

It occurred to Captain Ross that steam vessels had special advantages for arctic navigation; but while Government declined all pecuniary aid, Mr. (the late Sir Felix) Booth offered to supply all the means required from his own resources. The Victory steam-vessel of 85 tons, was now provided, and it was furnished with provisions for a thousand days. The Admiralty granted a decked vessel, of sixteen tons, and two boats which had been used in the polar expedition; and with these the use of books and instruments. The second in command was the nephew of Captain Ross, who had been engaged in some of the recent northern voyages.

The vessel moved down the Thames on the 23rd of May, 1829, but the steam-engine soon proved exceedingly defective. On reaching the Mull of Galloway, one of the arms of the principal stoker was so dreadfully shattered by the machinery, that the captain, as the surgeon had not yet joined, was compelled to perform immediate amputation; and the poor man was afterwards landed that he might have the care of a regular practitioner. Another disappointment was experienced. Fifty-four seamen were engaged in order to carry on the whale-fishery, and to bring back, if practicable, part of the Fury's stores; but though they joined the vessel, their demands were so exorbitant and their conduct so mutinous, that this part of the scheme, which was designed in hope of some remuneration for the outlay of the enterprise, was totally relinquished.

They were assailed by a violent tempest on passing the island of Rathlin, but in crossing the ocean they had a fair wind, which carried them along without steam. On the 3rd of July they were off Cape Farewell, and in a few days gained the latitude of 65 deg. 34 min. As the wind became less favourable, they resorted to the engine, but its aid was trivial, while damages were occurring which involved great trouble in repairs. They found, however, a bay, which, when entered, was seen to open into two magnificent inlets, bordered by noble rocks, and almost every spot was bright with verdure. A Danish flag, to their surprise, bore towards them; it came, from an apprehension of distress, with a ready offer of aid, from the governor of a settlement belonging to that nation, called Holsteinberg. The people here are exclusively employed in hunting and fishing. The navigators were most hospitably received.

Nor was this all. A whaler from London, having struck on a rock, had put in to refit, but as she proved to be beyond such repairs, she was abandoned, and was now lying an absolute wreck. A part of her

stores had been sold to the Danes, and the remainder left in charge of the governor. As he took a great interest in the expedition, and offered anything that could be of service, Captain Ross found his wants most unexpectedly and happily supplied.

On the 26th they sailed to the northward, and on approaching the latitude of 71 deg. north, where the *Hecla* and *Fury* had been beset in 1821, the ocean was as free from ice as any sea in summer. In the calms that followed, the engine, though exceedingly feeble, rendered them some service. On reaching the entrance of Lancaster Sound, so free was it from ice, that he sailed through the middle of the strait, while they felt it agreeable to dine without a fire, and with half the skylight removed. On the 9th of August, a welcome breeze sprang up from the east, and all sails being set, on the following day they passed Cape York, after which the land begins to turn southward, and with the opposite coast of North Somerset (Boothia) forms the broad opening of Prince Regent's inlet. As this was the channel by which Captain Ross hoped to accomplish his passage, he immediately steered across, and reached the western shore between Cape Seppings and Elwin Bay.

Various difficulties were now encountered from heavy gales, pieces of ice, and the variations of the compass; yet on the 12th, they descried the place of the *Fury's* wreck, but a strong current carried them away from it, and even out to sea. It was with great effort they reached again this desired spot. Not a vestige of the ship's hull, which had been left on the beach, remained; but the canisters of preserved provisions were as perfect as when they were first prepared. Other stores were, with little exception, equally good, raising their stock to a supply for two years and three months. The sails were found in complete preservation; and they also obtained a store of coal.

Again they resumed their career of discovery, and on the 15th of August reached a cape, the furthest point seen by Captain Parry. The compass was now of no use, and as they were often enveloped in fogs, their course was one of great difficulty and peril. Referring to one source of danger, Captain Ross describes the ice as stone, and even as solid as if it were granite, and then says: "Imagine these mountains hurled through a narrow strait by a rapid tide, meeting with the noise of thunder breaking from each other's precipitous huge fragments, or rending each other asunder, till, losing their former equilibrium, they fall over headlong, lifting the sea around in breakers, and whirling it in eddies. There is not a moment in which it can be conjectured what shall happen the next; there is not one which may not be the last. The attention is troubled to fix on anything amid such confusion; still must it be alive, that it may seize on the single moment of help or escape that may occur. Yet with all this, and it is the hardest task of all, there is nothing to be acted—no effort to be made—the navigator must be patient, as if he were unconcerned or careless, waiting, as he best can, for the fate, be it what it may, which he cannot influence or avoid."

At Brentford Bay, which was of considerable extent, with some fine harbours, Captain Ross landed, displayed his colours, and, drink-

ing the King's health, took possession of the land, to which he gave the name of Boothia, as that of his Majesty. In the course of August and September he worked his way along three hundred miles of undiscovered coast; and here the land, taking a westerly direction, appeared to afford the fair promise of a passage between the country now surveyed and the continent of America. But by the end of September, large masses of ice were closing around them, and they thought themselves happy when they found a station in Felix Harbour. Here, by sawing through the ice, a position was taken where the vessel might be most safely lodged for the winter. The engine was now removed, as unlikely to prove of any future benefit. Plans were adopted for promoting health and comfort. Divine service was regularly celebrated, and religious instruction was dispensed at a school every Sunday evening.

Like their predecessors, the navigators had some intercourse with parties of Esquimaux, who imparted what they had of geographical knowledge. It appeared from them that between the present station and Repulse Bay there was a very extensive gulf, limited by Melville Peninsula on the east, the American coast on the south, and the country in which they were now on the west. Whether there was any navigable opening further westward could not then be ascertained. One party spoke, however, of a great sea lying to the westward, and of a strait, which it was hoped might lead into it. An exploring expedition was now formed by Commander Ross, with the chief mate and two native guides, but the journey issued only in disappointment.

A place called Shagavoke had however been spoken of, where the water rushed through a narrow strait with extraordinary rapidity. Commander Ross, therefore, set out in quest of it with a fresh guide; but though the channel at its entrance was about five miles broad, yet four miles upwards it narrowed to 120 feet, and so encumbered was this small space with rocks that it seemed doubtful if a boat could effect a passage. All idea of a passage south of the ship's present station was therefore relinquished.

The hope of finding the desired passage was now directed to the north, and Commander Ross took another journey in that quarter. He found an inlet, which might possibly reach the western sea, but it afforded little promise, and the natives intimated that the only channel was in a much more northerly direction, supposed to be no other than Barrow's Strait, already navigated by Captain Parry.

Another journey was now determined on to the westward, beyond the isthmus, to trace the coast of America, as it extended along the newly-discovered sea. Again Commander Ross started, and, having crossed the great middle lake of the isthmus, he reached his former station on the western sea; but though cheers arose at the first view of it, regret was felt at the likelihood being diminished of its ever being navigated. As the party had to sleep there, they made a sort of burrow in the snow, roofed it with their skin boat, and formed a door of a block of snow.

Prosecuting their research, they found an inlet which afforded, by its appearance, some hope that it might open into the Polar Ocean, but it proved to be only the mouth of a river. In a few days they



found themselves on the main land of America, and as the coast now stretched due west, and the surface was level, they proceeded with comparative ease and rapidity. The direction changing to the north-west, they soon arrived at a spacious bay, which they named Parry; but their difficulties were now constantly increasing. Where all is ice, and all one dazzling mass of white;—where the surface of the sea is tossed up and flung into rocks, while the land, on the contrary, is very often flat—it is no easy thing to distinguish the one from the other. They could not live without eating, however much they might desire it, and their stock of provisions was a heavy load, which the dogs could no longer assist in dragging, being now completely exhausted. Already the food had been reduced below the full allowance, and a still further diminution was necessary to render possible the continuance of the journey two days longer. With such heavy toil, this was a severe privation, but it was one which the whole party was ready to endure.

Dispensing now with every thing they could, and setting out with only four days' provision, on the following day they reached Cape Felix, where the ocean to the south-west stretched before them as if unbounded. Travelling along the coast for twenty miles, they were, on the following morning, in lat. 69 deg. 46 min. 19 sec., long. 98 deg. 32 min. 49 sec.; but most anxious as they were to proceed, they were without the means of subsistence for doing so. The spot on which they stood was named Victory Point, while the most distant one in view, estimated to be in long. 99 deg. 17 min. 58 sec., was called Cape Franklin. In a cairn of stones, six feet high, they lodged an account of their proceedings, but with little hope that it would ever meet the eye of a European traveller.

It was no ordinary task to effect their return. Of eight dogs, only two remained alive. On the 8th of June, when in a greatly-exhausted state, they met a party of natives, who so hospitably received them that they were able to rest for a day, and on the 13th they reached the vessel. They did so only just in time, for the thaw had set in with extraordinary force, and the ocean could only be traversed with the greatest danger. They were now anxious to extricate the vessel for a voyage northwards, but month after month passed away, and with it even the height of summer, but the ice of the sea was still unmoved. Hope arose only to be followed by severe disappointment. In that dreary spot they had remained eleven months.

With indescribable joy, however, on the 17th of September, they found the vessel once more free, and advanced about three miles, when meeting a ridge of ice, they made fast to one of its extremities in a tolerably secure position between two icebergs. A change of wind and heavy fall of snow, on the following morning, confined them to this frail retreat; but in the evening a heavy gale sprang up, which on the following days drove the icebergs, and the vessel with them, near some rocks, yet doing no serious injury. They were completely frozen in on the 23rd, and within a week the surface of the sea was entirely unbroken. Through the greater part of October they were laboriously employed in sawing through the ice, the thickness of which was constantly increasing, and they were at length obliged

to coast after reaching a spot in which there was tolerable protection.

The setting in of winter demanded a lessening of the usual allowance of provision, and most dreary were the circumstances of the navigators. In the April of 1831, some excursions were taken, but with no remarkable discovery. Particular attention was, however, paid to the magnetic pole, which had been placed by the learned in Europe in latitude 70 deg. north, and longitude 90 deg. 30 min. west. In his expedition of 1830, along the coast of America, and when near Cape Felix, Captain Ross had approached within ten miles of it, but was unable to make the necessary experiments for want of the requisite instruments. After returning to the vessel, he was led to conclude, by a long and careful series of observations, that the real point lies in latitude 70 deg. 5 min. 17 sec. north, and longitude 96 deg. 16 min. 45 sec. west. This would place it on the western coast of Boothia, and setting out on the 27th of May, he reached this spot on the 1st of June, after a laborious journey. The amount of the dip was 89 deg. and 59 sec., being only one minute less than 90 deg., the vertical position which would have precisely indicated the polar station; and the horizontal needles, when suspended in the most delicate manner possible, did not show the slightest tendency to move. But as "Nature had erected here no monument to denote the spot which she had chosen as the centre of one of her great and dark powers," the commander placed upon it a flag, and erected a cairn, or heap of stones of some magnitude, in which he placed a record of his visit. The state of provisions now compelled a return, after proceeding a few miles further along the coast, which he saw still extending ten or twelve miles due north.

It was felt highly desirable, on his return, to escape, if possible, from the dreary imprisonment, and on the 29th of August they were in full sail, but soon they were blocked up in a harbour to which they had repaired, and on the 27th of September, they found themselves completely fixed for a third winter. Their navigation during this year was four miles, an increase of one on the past.

The depression which now arose, was followed by a conviction that they must abandon the vessel. But escape could only be effected by proceeding in the boats, or drawing them over the ice to the wreck of the *Fury*, when, after again replenishing themselves from her stores, they might reach Davis's Straits, and return home in one of the whale ships. They therefore determined to proceed as early as travelling should be found practicable. On the 23rd of April, 1832, they commenced their arduous enterprise. They had not only to proceed on foot, but to drag provisions and boats over a vast expanse of rugged ice. So heavy were the loads that they could not be carried at once, it was necessary to go back and forward twice, and even oftener, on the same day, having, meanwhile, to encounter dreadful tempests of snow and drift, and to make circuits in order to avoid impassable barriers. Thus it was found, by the 31st of May, they had travelled 329 miles to gain thirty in a direct line, having expended a month in this labour.

On the 29th of May they abandoned the ship, the first which



Captain Ross had been compelled to leave of thirty-six in which he had sailed during a period of forty-two years. It was the 9th of June before anything was brought to the other side of Elizabetha Harbour, as the nearest spot to which there was full security of being able to return; and it was now arranged that Commander Ross and two others should set forward as a light party, to ascertain the state of the supplies, and then to report to the main body, who, more heavily laden, were proceeding at a slower rate. They reported on their first return that they had found three of the boats washed away, but enough still left for their purpose, and all the provisions in good condition. On the 1st of July the whole crew reached their destination, and soon rearing a canvas dwelling, they called it Somerset House.

The boats were ready by the 1st of August, but the voyage proved very difficult; masses of ice were still tossing amidst the waves, and when they sought shelter there were generally lofty precipitous cliffs, a single fragment from which, detached by the tide, would have dashed them to pieces. On arriving at Barrow's Strait their efforts to run along it were rendered fruitless by the ice; and by the 21st of September all were agreed that nothing could be done but to return to Fury Beach, and there to pass their fourth winter. But on proceeding more than half the distance, the ice rendered it impossible to proceed, when hauling their boats on shore, they left them above high-water mark. Then, carrying their provisions on sledges, and making a somewhat difficult journey, they arrived at what they now accounted their home on the 7th of October.

The winter, as it advanced, proved to be one of great severity. On the 16th of February, 1833, the carpenter died of scurvy; several of the seamen became also affected by it; Captain Ross felt its sure approach by the return of pain in his old wounds. Awful indeed was their situation now, and if not liberated in the ensuing summer, there was little hope of their surviving another year. As soon as possible, therefore, they carried forward a stock of provisions to the position of the boats; but though the distance was only 32 miles, their reduced numbers, and the weight of the loads, obliged them to go over the same ground eight times, thus extending the space to 256 miles, and furnishing laborious employment for the space of a month. Returning to Somerset House, they quitted it on the 8th of July, and arrived at their boat-station on the 12th.

A month had passed, when a lane of water appeared leading to the northward, and on the 15th August they embarked their stores, and were under weigh, with a favourable wind, and on the 16th had arrived at the furthest point reached in the preceding year. In the evening they were at the north-eastern point of America, and beheld the sea in that direction, though encumbered with ice, quite navigable. On the following day they turned the point of the solid mass which obstructed the inlet, and saw Barrow's Strait stretching out before them. Waited onwards, they reached the opposite shore, which they sailed along till within twelve miles of Cape of York. In the two following they passed Admiralty Inlet, and came within six or seven miles of that called Navy Board; after which they were detained by contrary winds, and had to reduce their allowance of provisions. On



the 25th they could again use their oars, and reached the eastern side of Navy Board Inlet, where they found a good harbour for the night.

Early in the morning of the 26th a sail was perceived; their signals, after hard rowing, were soon observed, and a boat lowered, made towards them. On its arrival, the mate inquired if they were in distress, and had lost their vessel; and answered their questions by stating that he belonged to the *Isabella*, of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross, but now by Captain Humphreys. He was told that the former person stood before him; but he said that could not be, as the captain had certainly been dead for two years. On being satisfied to the contrary, he offered his cordial congratulations; hastened back to the ship, the yards of which were immediately manned, and the navigators were received with three hearty cheers. Their state was not very enviable. "Every man was hungry, and was to be fed; all were ragged, and were to be clothed; there was not one to whom washing was not indispensable, nor one to whom his beard did not deprive of all English semblance; it was washing, dressing, shaving, eating, all intermingled." At length they were fully supplied, and retired to rest; "and I trust," adds Captain Ross, "there was not one man among us who did not then express, where it was due, his gratitude for that interposition which had raised us all from a despair which none could now forget, and had brought us from the very borders of a not-distant grave to life, and friends, and civilization."

On his landing at Hull, on the 18th, great crowds were attracted, and after receiving the freedom of the town, and a public entertainment, he proceeded on the following day to London, and having reported himself to the Admiralty, was presented on the morrow to his Majesty, at Windsor, by whom he was most graciously received, and from whom he received the title, like captain, now Sir Edward Parry, of Sir John Ross.

In his long absence from England much anxiety was felt; and Captain Back was despatched, in 1833, to ascertain his fate, and if living, to co-operate with him. Descending from Slave Lake, by a river to which his name has been given, he reached the sea, and though he failed in the first object of his expedition, he added to our knowledge of the physical character of those countries as well as the coast-line, which latter was finally completed, at subsequent periods, by Deas and Simpson, and Ray.

In 1836 Captain Back was sent out in the *Terror*. He witnessed the most striking phenomena of the Polar seas. He saw that the approach of winter is attended with many interesting changes. Snow begins to fall as early as August, and the whole ground is covered to the depth of from two to three feet before the month of October. Along the shores and bays, the fresh-water poured from the rivulets, or drained from the thawing of former collections of snow, becomes quickly converted into solid ice. As the cold augments, the air deposits its moisture in the form of a fog, which freezes into a fine gossamer netting, or spicular icicles, dispersed through the atmosphere, and extremely minute. The hoar-frost settles profusely, in fantastic clusters, on every prominence. The whole surface of the sea steams like a limekiln, an appearance called frost smoke, caused, as in

other instances of the production of vapour, by the waters being warmer than the incumbent air. At length, the dispersion of the mist, and consequent clearness of the atmosphere, announce that the upper stratum of the sea itself has cooled to the same standard; a sheet of ice spreads quickly over the smooth expanse, and often gains the thickness of an inch in a single night. The darkness of a prolonged winter now broods impenetrably over the frozen continent, unless the moon chance, at times, to obtrude her faint rays, which only discover the horrors and wide desolation of the scene. The wretched settlers, covered with a load of bear skins, remain crowded and immured in their huts, every chink of which they carefully stop against the piercing cold; and, cowering about the stove or the lamp, they seek to doze away the tedious night. Their slender stock of provisions, though kept in the same apartment, is often frozen so hard as to require to be cut by a hatchet. The whole of the inside of their hut becomes lined with a thick crust of ice; and if they happen for an instant to open a window, the moisture of the confined air is immediately precipitated in the form of a shower of snow. As the frost continues to penetrate deeper, the rocks are heard at a distance to split with loud explosions. The sleep of death seems to wrap the scene in utter and oblivious ruin. "The sound of voices," it has been said, "which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around us; a silence far different from that peaceable composure which characterises the landscape of a cultivated country; it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence."

After being for nine months "wedged in an icy cradle," appearances favoured the hope of entire extrication. On March 16, 1837, the general attention was turned to the means of deliverance. By May 17, the seamen had so far cut the ice from around the ships as to allow them to float; but in the sea it was still immovable. By the middle of June there were channels in which boats could pass; yet, throughout this month and the following, the great covering of ice in the surrounding sea remained entire, and kept the ships in harbour. On the 2nd of August, however, the whole mass, by one of those sudden movements to which it is liable, broke up and floated out.

The phenomena of this season are thus described:—"When the sun reappears above the horizon, his languid beams rather betray the wide waste than brighten the prospect. By degrees, however, the further progress of the frost is checked. In the month of May the famished inmates venture to leave their huts in quest of fish on the margin of the sea. As the sun acquires elevation, his power is greatly increased; the snow gradually wastes away, the ice dissolves apace, and vast fragments of it, detached from the cliffs, and undermined beneath, precipitate themselves on the shore with the crash of thunder. The ocean is now unbound, and its icy dome broken up with tremendous rupture. The enormous fields of ice thus set afloat are, by the violence of winds and currents, again dissevered and dispersed. Sometimes, impelled in opposite directions, they approach and strike with a mutual shock, like the crash of worlds—sufficient, if opposed, to



reduce to atoms in a moment the proudest monuments of human power. It is impossible to picture a situation more awful than that of the sailors, who see their frail bark thus fatally enclosed, expecting immediate and inevitable destruction."

Captain Back, in his attempt to reach Repulse Bay in the ship *Terror*, in 1837, experienced several of these ice-storms. The captain describes the crashing, grinding, and rushing noise of the floe breaking up alongside the ship; the creaking of the beams and timbers, and an advancing rampart of ice, about thirty feet in height, rolling seaward in one vast body. All around, enormous masses of ice, escaped from confinement, and being tossed up in irregular positions, looked like so many engines of destruction. Providentially, the ship, instead of yielding to the pressure, and cracking like a walnut, was forced up, so that the approaching ice either passed under her, or was wedged against the large masses at either extremity.

One of the most fearful assaults occurred on the 10th of April. "At seven o'clock, p.m.," says the voyager, "a noise was heard along the ice, about a mile to the west of the ship, and soon the breeze brought down the whole western body with irresistible force, suddenly assailing the floe pieces, grinding and ploughing up the edges. There were frequent pauses, not unlike the silence which succeeds a heavy crash of thunder; but suddenly, on it came again with a deafening roar, destroying everything in its furious course. Wherever our eyes were turned they were met by rising waves of ice rolling their burdens towards the ship. One in particular, not more than thirty paces, had reared itself at least thirty feet on our inner floe-piece, which, strong as it was, gave way under the accumulated weight, and a mass of several tons being thus upturned, and added to the original bulk, the whole bore down slowly upon our quarter. The ship herself was high out of the water on the ice, but this overtopped her like a tower. The ship, unable to right herself, began to complain, and the scene became every moment more dark and threatening.

"Again preparations were made for a wreck, but circumstances were now even more discouraging than on former occasions. The large pieces of ice around, any one of which would have held the boats, provisions, etc., now no longer remained; the ship was surrounded by broken and crushed ice, presenting a multitude of angular and irregular surfaces, but none fit to trust a boat on, still less a human being; at the same time, every piece being in motion, it would have been impossible to have reached the land. Knowing this, and feeling acutely for the many beings entrusted to my charge, it may be conceived with what intense anxiety I listened to the crashing and grinding around. The strength of the ship, tried and shaken as it had already been, could hardly be expected to withstand the overwhelming power opposed to it, and what the result of that night might have been it is impossible to say, and painful to contemplate, had not an overruling Providence mercifully averted the crisis, by suddenly, at the moment of greatest peril, arresting the tumult. In less time than it could be spoken, there was a stillness of death, and we were saved. The watch was called, the crew dismissed; and I trust none that



night laid his head on his pillow without offering up a devout thanksgiving for the mercy which had been vouchsafed him. This was, happily, the last attack of this kind." Captain, now Sir G. Back, ascertained the magnetic pole in his subsequent researches, and surveyed the eastern part of the western coast of Boothia Felix, a land he so named after his patron Sir Felix Booth.

Some years elapsed without any further efforts in the arctic circle; but in 1845 Government despatched the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, under the command of Sir J. Franklin, principally with the view of completing the magnetic survey of the globe. The vessels were supplied with provisions for three years, and instructions were given to proceed across Lancaster Sound to Cape Walker, that is, about 98 deg. W., and thence in as direct a line as possible to Behring's Strait.

It is this expedition, of which no tidings have been heard, that has excited so widely and deeply the popular interest and sympathy. Expeditions have been already sent out in quest, and for the aid, of Sir John and his crews. The first, the *Plover*, under the command of Captain Moore, sailed in January, 1848, for Behring's Strait, where she was to winter; and, sending out boats, endeavour to communicate with Sir John Richardson, who left England in March of the same year, to reach the mouth of the Mackenzie, by way of Canada and the great Lakes. The duty committed to him was to examine the coast from that river to Coppermine River, and return to winter quarters at Great Bear Lake.

On the 13th of July, 1848, her Majesty's ships *Enterprise* and *Investigator* also sailed from the Danish settlement of Upernavik, under the command of Sir James, whose ardour, energy, and perseverance, had previously been manifested as Commander Ross, to search for the expedition of Sir John Franklin. They pursued their course to the northward under varying circumstances of perplexity, anxiety, and success; for, although the commander could not but feel assured that they should eventually get through the Melville Bay barrier, yet calms and light winds so greatly impeded any movement in the track, that day after day passed away, until the season was so far advanced as to preclude every hope of accomplishing much, if anything, before the setting-in of winter.

No exertions, however, were spared to take advantage of every opportunity of pushing the ships forward, until, on the 20th of August, during a heavy breeze from the north-east, the ships, under all the sail they could carry, bored through a pack of ice of but moderate thickness, but having amongst it heavy masses mingled with the lighter ice that covered the larger surface, through which it was necessary to drive the ship at all hazards. The shocks they sustained during this severe trial were great, but happily without serious damage to them. Having got into the open sea, they steered for Pond's Bay, and, having arrived there, hove-to within half a mile of those points upon which the Esquimaux are known to place their summer residences, firing guns every half hour, and with their glasses closely examining every part of the shore, without being able to discern any human being. From Pond's Bay they commenced a rigid examination of the coast to the northward, keeping the ships close in along the

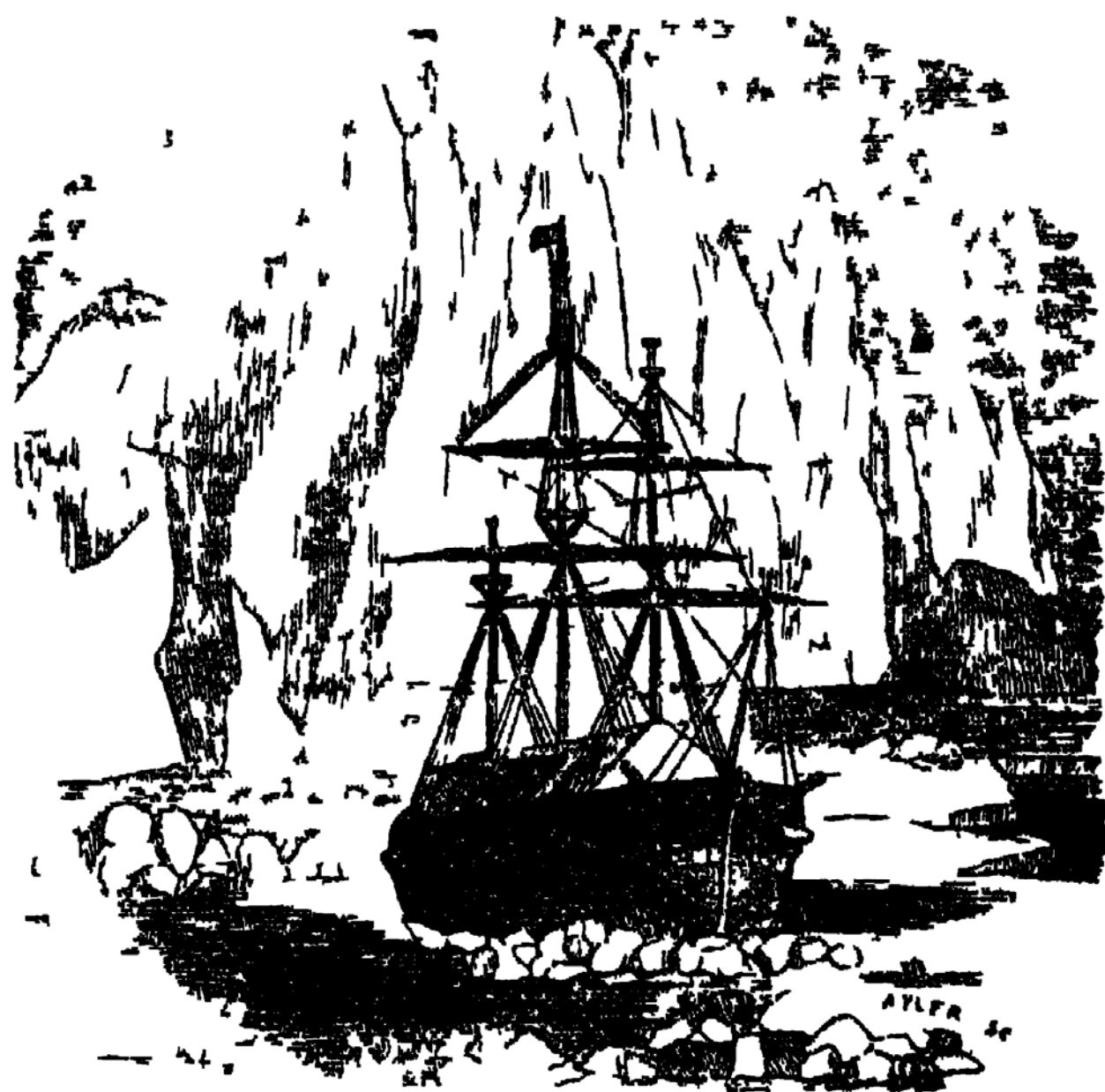
land, so that neither people nor boats could have passed without their seeing them.

On the 26th they arrived off Possession Bay, and a party was sent on shore, to search for any traces of Sir John Franklin's expedition having touched at this general point of rendezvous. Nothing was found but the paper left there recording the visit of Sir Edward Parry in 1819. The paper was very much damaged; but, by careful washing and fitting together, nearly every word was clearly deciphered. It is still preserved. From this point they continued the examination of the coast with equal care, for they fully expected every hour to see those of whom they were in search; and the most vigilant look-out was kept aloft, and from the deck. Every day they were in the practice of throwing over board a cask from each ship, containing papers with information of all their proceedings; guns were fired during foggy weather, and blue lights and rockets were used during the hours of darkness, the ships being kept under such easy sail that any boat seeing the signals might have reached them. Having explored many other places, they stood for a harbour near Cape Rennell, but found a heavy body of ice extending from the west-end of Cornwallis Island, in a compact mass, to Leopold's Island. Coasting along this pack during stormy and foggy weather, they had difficulty in keeping the ships free during the night, for there is reason to believe that so great a quantity of ice was never before seen in Barrow's Straits as at this period. With the thermometer at 15 degrees every night, young ice formed rapidly, and became so thick as to frustrate all their exertions to pass through some of the lower streams. Nevertheless, after some days of anxious and arduous work, they succeeded in getting through the pack, which lingered about Leopold Island and the north-east Cape, and entered the harbour of Port Leopold on the 11th of September.

Much satisfaction was excited next morning, to find how perfectly their steam-launch fulfilled their expectations in an experimental cruise about the harbour, before proceeding in her to the westward, in search of a harbour for the *Enterprise*, as it was now beyond probability, from the early setting in of winter, and from the unbroken state of the ice, to reach Melville Island this season. The pack at the mouth of the harbour, however, still prevented their immediate departure, and all their energies were devoted to landing a good supply of provisions upon Whaler Point. In this service the steam-launch proved of infinite value, conveying a large cargo herself, and towing two deeply laden cutters at the rate of four or five knots, through the sheet of ice which now covered the harbour, and through which no boat, unaided by steam, could have penetrated beyond her own length. On the evening of the 12th of October, after much labour, the ships were hove into their winter position, within 200 yards of each other.

Sir James Ross was anxious to have taken the *Enterprise* to some distance to the westward, but any attempt to leave the ships, under the circumstances of their situation, would have been highly injurious, and probably led to some calamity. But the pack which sealed the harbour's mouth the night after they entered it, never admitted a

chance of even a boat making her way out, and across the isthmus, as far as could be discerned from the hills, the same extensive mass of heavy, hummocky ice, which they had previously coasted along, was still pressed close against the north shore of North Somerset, and remained fixed there throughout the winter, so that if the Enterprise had been able to get out of the harbour, she could not have proceeded far, and would most likely have been compelled either to pass the winter in the pick or to have returned to England, and thus have defeated all prospective measures for the assistance of our long-absent friend.



WINTER QUARTERS.

The winter was passed as are all winters in this climate, but long experience and liberal means gave the voyagers many comforts that no other expedition had enjoyed, yet it is remarkable that the health of the crew suffered more during this winter than on any former occasion. The want of success might have tended in some measure to depress their spirits, and unhappily, the cold of winter was prolonged unusually far into the spring before more active employment could be given them. During the winter a great many white foxes were taken alive in traps set for the purpose, and as it is well known how large a tract of country these creatures traverse in search of food, copper collars were made, upon which a notice of the position of the ships and depots of provisions was engraved, to be clenched round their necks, and then set them at liberty again, with the hope that some of these messengers might be the means of conveying the intelligence to



the Erebus and Terror, as the crews of those vessels would assuredly be eager for their capture. They now carefully examined, by arduous overland journeys, the neighbouring coast and inlets, and fully convinced themselves that Sir John Franklin's ships were not in this part of the Arctic regions.

The crews, weakened by incessant exertion, were in a very unfit state to undertake the heavy labour which they had yet to accomplish. The season at this place was so extremely backward, that hardly a pool of water was to be seen on the surface of ice which covered the harbour, except only along the line of gravel which had been spread out towards the harbour's mouth during the winter, and there appeared but small prospect of any release this season. All that were able, commenced with saws extending the breadth of the canal, so much as to admit the ships to pass down it towards the point of the harbour, a distance of rather more than two miles.

Before leaving Port Leopold, Sir James Ross had caused a house to be built of spare spars, and covered with such of their housing cloth as they could dispense with, and for which they could find a substitute, if needful; leaving also twelve months' provisions, fuel, and other necessaries, together with the Investigator's steam-launch, which had been lengthened seven feet for the purpose, and now formed a fine vessel, capable of conveying the whole of Sir John Franklin's party to the whale ships, or themselves, should any calamity befall their ships in their passage to the westward.

After having been obliged to spend another winter in the Arctic regions, they safely returned to England, where they arrived on the 5th of November, 1849.

Other expeditions have just been sent out with the same object in view, and most heartily and devoutly do we wish that it may be fully attained. Not a few of those who are well acquainted with the Arctic regions consider that hope is still warranted of the discovery and rescue of Sir John Franklin and his gallant crew; and hence the means which are being so energetically employed. Pre-eminent in this service is Lady Franklin, whose zeal and perseverance in every effort that affection and intelligence can devise has awakened the admiration and sympathy of the civilized world. Her ladyship has just purchased the ketch Prince Albert, of ninety tons, to proceed to Prince Regent's Inlet, and send parties across from Brentford Bay to the western side of Boothia, which will explore to the strait of Sir J. Ross, while another party will examine the eastern side of Boothia. Commander Codrington Forsyth, an experienced surveying officer of the Royal Navy, will command this expedition. The result of these various efforts remains to be seen; their success will be matter of widely-extended congratulation and thankfulness. But unless it be enjoyed, and a new light be cast by these enterprises over the perilous navigation of the Polar seas, there will be little to add, for many years at least, to the deeply-interesting and heart-thrilling narrative, with which we conclude this volume.











